G
tween the Mbayá and Guaná can be thus corre- M
lated with the historical juxtoposition of a warlike 174
hunting tribe and a less warlike agricultural tribe. 648

The introduction of the horse into the Chaco M
both altered and accentuated the already existing 177
relationships between the Mbayá and Guaná. 648
Quite characteristically the warlike Guaicurú- 231
speaking people were the first to adopt the horse. 554
The Mbayá are said to have had the horse by 1672 (Azara, 1923, vol. 2, p. 58). To the Mbayá bands the horse gave increased mobility and striking power. The more distant tribes and even the Spanish outposts could now be reached and raided with impunity. The use of iron for making spearheads, knives, and axes added to the power of the individual warrior. With increased military power came increased wealth in war captives, horses, cattle, and other loot. The social distinctions based on birth, military exploits, and wealth M
became more pronounced. War captives became [727]
so numerous that they could no longer be absorbed [567]
and became, in reality, a slave class. The leading chiefs and their relatives adopted a proud and arrogant attitude in keeping with their wealth and prestige and their freedom from the mundane tasks of hunting and fishing.

The Guaná, too, adopted the horse. Whether G
all the Guaná groups became horsemen is not clear. 231
The Terena, at least, adopted the horse, took to 177
raiding, captured slaves, and developed a warrior 554
class and marked distinctions of social rank. This 648
development, however, did not break the relationship between the Guaná and Mbayá. Yet, it would seem that the relationship between the two horse-using groups could be scarcely defined as one existing between lord and serf or even one of symbiosis. On the basis of what the Terena and Caduveo say today, it would appear to have been much closer to a form of alliance in which the Mbayá held the superior position. Until the pacification of the northern Chaco toward the end of the eighteenth century the Mbayá and their Guaná henchmen remained nomadic horsemen dependent on raiding and to some extent on stock raising and, in the case of the Guaná, on limited agriculture. An incipient territorial state never grew out of Mbayá supremacy. To the last they remained raiders.

M
Warfare between the Mbayá and the Spaniards, 648
who had settled in what is now Paraguay, began 175

2:Oberg E-5 (1946-1947)1949 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

[Chaco Period]

THE TERENA

(Pls. 1-11)

TERENA ECONOMY IN THE CHACO

HABITAT

Although it is no longer possible to determine 174
by direct investigation the exact nature of the 241
economy of the Terena upon their entry into the
Chaco, indirect evidence points to agriculture as
being the basis of subsistence. The Terena are an [197]
Arawak-speaking people and the Arawak-speaking
tribes in the Amazon Basin are predominantly
agriculturists. Terena myths tell of how 174
Yúrikoyuvakái taught the people to practice agri- 241
culture: 539

> The Indians were hungry but they had no tools and did not know how to obtain food. The twins then gave the Indians all their tools. To the men, *Yúrikoyuvakái* gave the ax, *powóoti;* the digging stick, *tiomo'i;* the knife, *piritaa;* the sickle, *yopiloóti;* the war club, *pukí'oi;* the bow, *shehiá;* arrows, *shumó;* and the spear, *suiká.* To the women, the twins gave the spindle, *hopéa. Yúrikoyuvakái* then taught the Indians how to hunt, fish, and grow crops.

We know, too, from old records, that the Arawak- 174
speaking neighbors of the Terena were agricultur- 241
ists. Thus, although no direct written or verbal [127]
evidence exists concerning the original nature of
Terena economy it appears reasonably safe to assume that they were agriculturists in pre-Columbian days.

The Terena now describe their economic life in 174
the Chaco as having been based on agriculture, 241
hunting, fishing, collecting, and raiding. This 433
shift away from an emphasis on agriculture is
understandable. The Chaco with comparatively [136]
greater sources of wild food plants, fish, and game [137]
than existed in the tropical forest, offered not only
the resources but a stimulus for their use. In addi- 174
tion, the practice of agriculture in the Chaco was 241
not the same as in the rain forest. The long
drought period in the Chaco demanded a storable [132]
surplus not necessary in a region where annual
rainfall is more evenly distributed. Above all, the [648]
Terena came into contact with Chaco tribes that
depended principally upon hunting, fishing, and
collecting, and a mutual exchange of economic cus-
toms seems to have taken place. When the Terena [177]
took over the horse and the practice of hunting and
raiding their neighbors on horseback, dependence

[P. 6-A]

[Chaco Period]

on agriculture became even less important. Conditions of the physical environment and cultural contacts, therefore, help to explain the economic readjustments which the Terena appear to have made in the Chaco. 174 241 [177]

Geographically the region formerly occupied by the Terena belongs to the great depressed plain of the upper Paraguay River known as the Chaco. The northeastern part of this plain is characterized by vast swamps relieved here and there by low crystalline hills. This part of the Chaco, too, has greater precipitation than the semiarid central Chaco. The Terena speak of their Chaco home as being wet and refer to dangers from floods. Although the annual rainfall here is estimated at 50 inches, it must be remembered that the rains fall from October to May, the remaining months being extremely dry. In the summer months, temperatures may reach over 100° F. During the winter months of July and August cold winds blow from the south, often bringing below-freezing temperatures. 133 132

This part of the Chaco is classified as savanna, swampy near the Paraguay River but merging into scrub forest to the west, with denser "galeria" forests lining the more permanent water courses. In the past, this region was particularly rich in plant and animal life which could be readily converted to human use. Among the wild plants which were of subsistence value to man were such trees and shrubs as the algarroba (*Prosopis*), the acacia, the Barbary fig, the chañar (*Courliea decorticans*), mistol, the wild orange, and a wide variety of palms. Wild rice grew in the swamps. Locusts and the larvae and honey of bees were used. The scrub forests and swamps were the home of such animals as the deer, peccary, tapir, capybara, and the jaguar. Land and water birds were plentiful, and the rivers were stocked with many varieties of fish as well as turtles and shellfish. 133 [137] [136]

Discussing the resources of the Chaná (Guaná), Sánchez Labrador says: 824

> The "Palo Santo" is the most widespread tree. They employ the hardwood of this tree to make spades to use in their fields, and pipes to smoke tobacco, which they appreciate very much. Birds are more abundant on the west bank of the river than on the east bank. The birds feed in the fields of the Chaná. They hunt many birds 136 [223]

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 8-A]

[P. 6-B]

[chaco Period]

they built temporary shelters of brushwood. During 226
this period, fish moved close to the banks and [221]
into shallow pools to feed and could thus be caught
with greater ease. A very common way of catching
fish consisted in a number of men entering the
water in order to drive the fish into a corner from
where they could be caught by hand and thrown
ashore. In shallow water the Terena also used
conical wicker baskets open at the top and bottom. [227]
These baskets, which were about 2.5 feet high, were
dropped over the fish, the fish being extracted
through the top by hand. Larger wickerwork
fish traps were also used. The Terena claim not
to have used nets. Fishhooks made from bone
were used in deeper water. For catching large
fish swimming on the surface of the water, the
Terena used the bow and arrow. Among the commonest
varieties of fish the Terena mention the
following: "marobás," *chaca-chaca;* "*trairas,*" *himon;*
"bagres," *ayaporé.* Fish were either boiled,
broiled, or baked wrapped in clay. For broiling,
the fish was cleaned, split, and placed in a cleft [252]
stick with cross sticks to keep the fish spread out.
The stick was then stuck into the ground near a
fire and turned until the fish was broiled. Fish [251]
were also dried on a latticework frame over a fire.

The principal weapons of the chase were the 411
bow and arrow, the spear, and the wooden club.
The Terena used a bow about 5 feet in length and
oval in cross section made from a reddish-color
wood, the string being made of tucum palm fiber.
For game, bone-pointed arrows with two feathers
were used. For birds, arrows with several slender
bamboo points were used. Arrows used for shooting
fish did not have feathers. In using stones,
with which to kill birds, the Terena put two strings
on their bows. Formerly the spear was pointed
with bone, but with the introduction of iron an
iron point was used. A heavy flat wooden blade
or club was also used for dispatching wounded
game. In addition to these weapons, the Terena [224]
used pitfalls and numerous kinds of traps.

When game was scarce and spread over a wide 224
area, men on foot went out individually stalking
deer, peccary, rhea, and tapir. If game was more
plentiful and the country suitable, game could be
surrounded and driven into an enclosed area where
they could be shot down or speared. This method
of collective hunting was particularly common [177]
after the adoption of the horse. Jaguars were sur-

[P. 10-A]

[Chaco Period]

> beans, which they leave to take care of themselves. When 241
> they think that the crops ought to be matured, they send [361]
> a messenger to find out. If these inspectors bring good
> news, they will return to their settlements and look after
> their fields. [Sánchez Labrador, 1910-17, vol. 2, p. 258.]

The first rains of the season, usually in late Sep-
tember or October, gave the signal for planting. [132]
Lands selected for cultivation were first cleared
of trees, underbrush, and grass with an ax (origi- [412]
nally made of stone but in post-Columbian times
of iron). The trees and bushes were then burnt
and the ashes scattered over the field. With a dig-
ging stick, *ilome'i*, made from the wood of the [412]
"palo santo," the cultivator would then dig the [516]
ground, squatting on his heels, moving from place
to place until the field was turned. With the com-
ing of the Spaniards the Terena claim they began [177 ●
to use iron hoes and even a simple iron-shod wooden 407]
plow drawn by oxen. After the field was prepared
the Terena waited for the first rains before put- [824]
ting in the seed. "We waited," they say, "until
the first flowers appeared on the trees."

The above information checks closely with what
Sánchez Labrador observed in the middle of the
eighteenth century: [181]

> The Chaná are a good-humoured, modest people. They
> have a peculiar way of cultivating the land. With the
> above-mentioned spades they dig and weed, not as the
> Spaniards do, but sitting down. Their spades have han- [516]
> dles one and one-half yards in length. The Chaná sit
> down and work with their spades as far as they can
> reach and then move along until all the land has been
> prepared for planting. They cultivate manioc, maize,
> beans, squashes, sweet potatoes, tobacco, and some cotton.
> [Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 291-292.]

The economic unit was the family or household, 592
which consisted of the husband and wife, the chil- 241
dren, and, in some cases, the sons-in-law. The
clearing and digging of the land were performed 462
by men. Women and children assisted in plant-
ing, weeding, and harvesting. Cotton seeds, for
instance, could be planted only by women.

The principal crops grown by the Terena were 241
maize, sweet and bitter manioc, cará, beans, sweet-
potatoes, pumpkins, gourds, sugarcane, cotton,
and tobacco.

Maize (soporó).—The Terena distinguished at 243
least three kinds of maize: A long-eared yellow
maize called *hianketi-soporó*, a white variety called
heopuiti-soporó, and a mixed-colored ear called
kuati-soporó. Maize was planted at the begin-
ning of the rains and was ready for use 3 to 6

[P. 11-A]

[Chaco Period]

While in the Chaco the Terena also claim to 245
have cultivated bananas and sugarcane, perhaps 177
obtaining these plants from the Spaniards. The 249
Terena word for banana is *panana*, which seems
to indicate a rather recent date for this plant. The
Terena word for sugarcane, *caiána*, also points to
the recent adoption of this plant.

Other crops cultivated were pumpkins, *kame*; 241
beans, *kareoké*; tobacco, *chaki*; and cotton, *nevoi*.
Tobacco leaves, when mature, were picked, rolled [276]
so as to squeeze out the moisture, and dried. The
rolling was repeated several times. Tobacco was
smoked in clay pipes. Cotton, of course, was spun [283]
into yarn and used for weaving cloth. [286]

DOMESTIC ANIMALS AND BIRDS

The Terena had medium-sized short-haired dogs. 231
Parrots, macaws, and rheas were kept for their
feathers. Horses, *kamo*, and cattle, *vaka*, were acquired
in raids, the horses being used for warfare
and hunting. Cows appear not to have been milked
but, no doubt, augmented the meat supply. Cows 492
and oxen were used for riding, the animal being
guided by a bridle attached to a ring in the animal's
nose. Saddles, *nikokoróti*, for both horses
and cattle, were made from dried banana leaves by
tying two cylindrical bundles together so that the
bundles would rest, one on each side of the animal's
backbone, no stirrups being used.

MANUFACTURES

The Terena made baskets, fans, and hats from 322
thin strips of bamboo, "carandá," and from "piri." 285
The thin outer layer of the wild bamboo was cut
into narrow strips from which large and small
baskets were made by plaiting. Large baskets [482]
were carried on the back with the aid of a tumpline.
From "piri" and "carandá" fibers, hats and
fans were made, the fans being used for killing
mosquitoes and for maintaining small cooking
fires.

The Terena also used netted bags of various sizes 283
for carrying and storing food and other objects.
The string used was made from the fibers of the 415
yulú plant (probably a species of *Bromelia*). The
leaves of the *yulú* were first soaked in water to
soften the cells surrounding the fibers, the soft
substance being later scraped away with a wooden
knife. The fine fibers were then twisted into string, 284
ihe, on the thigh or spun on a wooden spindle. 415

[Chaco Period]
[Post-Chaco Period]

in want owing to illness or misfortune. Livestock, 421
slaves, houses, and cultivated lands were the only [428]
forms of property that were actually inherited.
The practice of burning a dead person's private [768]
property, consisting of clothing, tools, weapons,
and ceremonial objects, over the person's grave
solved the problem of their disposal. Even the
houses were sometimes burnt, although the general practice was to change the doorway so that
the ghost of the deceased could not find its way
back.

ORGANIZATION OF LABOR

241
It appears, from what the Terena say, that the 476
household was the primary economic unit. Both
the men and women of the household, with whatever slaves they might have possessed, participated 592
in agricultural labor. The men performed the 462
heavy work of clearing and hoeing the ground,
while the women and older children assisted in [241]
planting, weeding, and harvesting. The preparation of food, cooking, spinning and weaving, and
pottery making were the activities of the women.
Men's work consisted of hunting, fishing, tool making, preparation of skins, basket making, and warfare. Both sexes participated in collecting wild
plant foods.

The men of the village would participate in a 476
communal hunt on horseback if such large action [224]
was deemed advisable. If land was difficult to
clear, several closely related households would [241]
assist one another in the work of clearing. Kinsmen, even when dwelling in different households, [602]
would assist each other in economic activities.

PRESENT-DAY ECONOMY OF THE TERENA

177

GENERAL DESCRIPTION

178
648
The migration of the Terena into their present
location in Brazilian territory was followed by [167]
many changes in their economy. Here they
found a new physical and social environment.
Southern Mato Grosso was already under effective Brazilian control. Brazilian cattlemen were
pushing westward, seeking land and labor for
their new enterprises. The old free life of culti- [361]
vation, hunting, fishing, and raiding came to an
end—the Terena had to settle down. On the lands 177
allotted to them, they began to cultivate plots of 241
manioc, maize, sugarcane, cotton, and other crops 648

[P. 13-B]

[Post-Chaco Period]

177
which were familiar to them from their Chaco 241
days. The food supply obtained through culti- 648
vation was augmented by hunting, fishing, and
work on nearby cattle ranches.

Soon, however, difficulties arose. Cattlemen[1] 166
began to encroach upon Indian lands, using these 648
lands for grazing and, in many cases, divesting
the Indians of the rights to their use. Terena
lands were held under no secure title. It is said
that documents relating to land grants given to [768]
Terena chiefs were often burnt over a dead chief's [423]
grave, making evidence of ownership even more
uncertain. The effect of this pressure on Indian
lands resulted in many of the Terena leaving set-
tlements like Bananal and Ipegue in an effort to [177]
make a livelihood by working on the ranches and [464]
in the nearby towns of Miranda and Aquidauana. [465]
Wage work with its inevitable uncertainties caused
great hardships to these homeless Indians.

With the allocation of Indian lands and the es- 177
tablishment of the Indian Post at Taunay in 1916 311
and, later, Posts in all the important settlements, 423
economic conditions began to improve. Indian 648
lands were parceled out in lots 45 m. square. In each village a man could obtain a lot on which he could build his house and cultivate a garden. If he wished more land he could go outside the village and use as many lots as he could effectively cultivate. These Indian lands, however, remained the property of the Brazilian Government. Indian rights were use rights only. Outside the village an Indian had only to fence in a lot and begin cultivating and as long as he used this land it remained his. He could, of course, abandon it at any time he wished, after which some other Terena
could begin using it. In the village an Indian 425
could sell his house and other improvements to another Indian, but he could not sell the land on which the property stood. Sales of this type are not common, as land is still plentiful, both in-
side and outside most Terena villages. In spite of 648
these restrictions the Terena are adequately pro- 563
tected, as only Indians can use reservation lands. An Indian from another tribe under the protection of the Government is able to settle among the Terena with the consent of the Post manager. This practice is not common, however, and is usually restricted to Indians who marry Terena women.

The land problem, although basic, was only one 648
of the consequences of the increasing interaction

[1] [i.e., Brazilian Cattlemen — Analyst]

[POST-Chaco Period]

between the Terena and their Brazilian neighbors. 648
Economically, the impact of a foreign people was
felt in many ways. The proximity of Brazilian 648
farmers, cattlemen, railroad workers, and traders, 177
in itself stimulated a desire for change in habits,
customs, and beliefs. The guiding hand of the
missionaries and the managers of the Indian Posts [797]
affected the life of the Terena more intimately and
directly. The missionaries taught the people to
wear modern clothes, to use modern tools, and to
learn to read Portuguese. The managers of the
Posts taught the Indians to build modern houses
and to clear land and plant new crops. In addition,
they taught them such handicrafts as blacksmithing,
bricklaying, leatherwork, and the use
of the sewing machine. Inevitably, close association
with the Brazilians created changes in the
needs of the Terena; the dietary pattern began to
change, and new demands for clothing, ornaments,
and amusements became integral parts of Terena
economy.

The economic effect of these contacts and changes 177
was the growing dependence of the Terena on the 436
money economy of their Brazilian neighbors. In
order to get clothes, tools, rice, maté tea, matches,
tobacco, and alcoholic beverages the Indians
needed money. The railroad and the cattle 177
ranches offered a ready labor market and we
find the Terena in increasing numbers going to 464
work as cattle drivers and horse breakers on
the ranches and as section hands on the railroad.
The labor market also increased travel
and a widening consciousness of the non-Indian
world. The Indians became acquainted with
the larger towns, such as Campo Grande and
Porto Esperança. Some of the Terena were stimulated
in their desire to learn to read, to do simple
arithmetic, and to understand the ways of the
strange new world. In addition to the demand 177
for labor, the cattle ranches and the nearby towns 433
of Taunay, Aquidauana, and Miranda offered a 439
ready market for manioc meal, raw sugar, and
hand-woven hammocks. In this way wage labor
and trade became essential elements in Terena
economy.

In spite of these changes subsistence agriculture, 241
even today, forms the basis of livelihood.
On their lots the Terena produce manioc, maize,
beans, squashes, sugarcane, rice, bananas, oranges,
mangoes, and a few additional minor crops. Man-

ioc is still the staple food crop, with maize and beans coming second. Rice is highly prized, but it is expensive to buy and does not grow well in this area. Manioc and raw sugar are the principal cash crops. A few head of cattle are kept, and some of the Terena drink milk. Hogs and chickens add to the flesh diet of the people. Fishing and hunting supply only a negligible amount of food. 241 433 231 262 [224] [226]

This, in brief, is the outline of the economic history of the Terena in the last hundred years. The shifting agriculturists, hunters, and raiders of the Chaco became settled subsistence farmers upon moving into Brazil. With the coming of the railroad and the influx of settlers there has been a gradual increase in the dependence on the money economy of the Brazilians. A more exact picture of Terena economy and the relative importance of subsistence farming and dependence on commercial transactions can be obtained if we examine the economic life of a typical village. 177 ● 433

SOURCES OF INCOME IN A TYPICAL VILLAGE

59

The Indian Post of Taunay[2] today has a population of 995. As this Post contains approximately one-third of the Terena population it will serve as a reasonably satisfactory sample of Terena economic life. Statistics show that families at this Post average 5 persons, which would give the Post about 200 families. Families, as a rule, have houses and lots either inside or outside the village, but all families do not cultivate farm lots outside the village. Sources-of-income study made at this Post in January 1947 revealed the following facts: 162 434 [361] 166 434 464

(1) About 100 men were away from the village working on ranches, on the railroad as section hands, or at various jobs in Taunay, Miranda, Aquidauana, and Campo Grande. The manager of the Post stated that 50 to 150 people are out of the Post at all times engaged in wage work. Men who work on the cattle ranches remain away from 2 weeks to 2 months, depending on the time of the year. Men who work for the railroad usually remain away for a year, often longer. If the man is married he often takes his family with him, living in quarters provided by the rail-

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[2] The village is called "Bananal" by the Terena.

[103]

[POST-Chaco Period]

166

road company. If these workers are near, they 434
visit the Post on week ends and holidays. Usually 464
all these workers come back to the village when
they become ill or too old to work. One complaint
the Protestant missionaries make is that a [797]
man will leave the village for 6 months, become
ill, and then return to the village to be treated.
The missionaries claim that the Indians do not
take care of themselves when away from the Post,
that they spend their money on cane rum instead
of buying warm clothing and sufficient food. The
general pattern consists in a young man spending
several years away from the village, then returning,
marrying, and settling in the village. After
settling down he goes out to seek employment only
occasionally. Since 1942, wages have risen steadily 465
in Brazil owing to inflation, so it is difficult
to determine a standard wage at present. Before
the war, wages paid for farm and ranch hands
ranged from 5 to 10 cruzeiros a day (U. S. $0.25
to $0.50). Today, wages range from 15 to 30
cruzeiros a day (U. S. $0.75 to $1.50), but this
money buys no more than before the war. From
what has been said it can be seen that wages form [434]
an important source of Terena income.

(2) The manager of the Post always employs 434
a number of Terena to work in the fields belonging 464
to the Post, to take care of the Post livestock, and
to build and repair the buildings belonging to the
Post proper. The number of these workers varies;
in January 1947 six men were thus employed. [465]
They received 14 cruzeiros a day. The employment
of Indians by the Post has other purposes
besides the maintenance of the Post. An effort is
made to provide work for needy families even
when the Post does not actually require their services. 177 ●
Another reason for employing Indians is 434
to train them in building and in such crafts as
carpentry, masonry, and blacksmithing. The welfare 464
function of this kind of wage work is revealed
by the fact that when a man with a large family
is a drunkard the Post manager does not pay him [452]
in money but arranges credit for him at a store
in Taunay or provides him with foodstuffs from 434
supplies belonging to the Post. 463

(3) Three men were found to be making their 489
living by carting, that is, transporting goods be- 494

[P. 15-B]

Annual budget for family of husband, wife, and 3 children—Continued [511]

	Cr. $
Clothing for 3 children for year:	
5 shirts at Cr. $20	100,00
3 pairs of pants at Cr. $15	45,00
3 jackets at Cr. $25	75,00
Total	220,00
Total for clothing for family of 5	975,00
Food and other household items per week:	
Maté tea, 1 kilo	3,50
Salt, ½ kilo	1,00
Soap, 2 pieces laundry soap	2,00
Rice, ¼ kilo	1,00
Dried meat, 1 kilo	6,00
Lard, ½ kilo	5,00
Total for week	18,50
Total for year	962,00
Average annual expenditure for family of 5:	
Clothing	975,00
Food and household items	962,00
Tools, ornaments, tobacco, kerosene, alcoholic beverages, travel, etc	122,00
Total	2 059,00

LIFE HISTORIES

In order to obtain a more intimate understanding of present-day Terena economy a number of brief life histories of representative individuals was made. These histories, although no more than sketches, give some idea of the economic life of men who follow the occupations just described. [121] 159

AN EMPLOYEE OF THE INDIAN POST

Eleuterio Demetrio (native name *Oroopa*) is 34 159
years old. He was born on a Brazilian cattle [551]
ranch. His mother is a Terena woman but he believes his father was a Brazilian. He is married [177] ●
to a Terena woman, the marriage having been
performed by a Catholic priest. He has six children (three boys and three girls), one of whom [797]
is attending the Protestant mission school at the [871]
Post.

He lives in a two-room house with a lean-to [342]
kitchen. The walls of the house are made of upright stakes and plastered with clay; the roof is
thatched; the dirt floor is made smooth by being
beaten with a heavy piece of wood. Inside the [352]
house there are a table, three long wooden benches, and a platform bed resting on forked sticks.

and a platform bed resting on forked sticks. Besides 159
himself, his wife, and six children, the house [592]
is shared with his mother, a brother, and a male
cousin. Eleuterio, his wife, and the small children [513]
sleep on the bed, and the rest of the occupants [352]
sleep in hammocks. Eleuterio's wife uses iron
kettles for most of the cooking, but clay pots are [415]
sometimes used also. The occupants of the house
eat out of clay and wooden dishes. The house is
situated on a lot in the village and is surrounded
by a number of mango and orange trees. Eleuterio [231]
has two dogs, a hen with three chicks, and a young
rooster.

Eleuterio came to the Post with his uncle and 159
grandfather when he was 5 years old. His grandfather, 177●
who was a medicine man, came from the
Chaco. Both his uncle and grandfather were baptized 795
in the Catholic faith, although his grandfather
never became a regular church member.
Eleuterio was also baptized in the Catholic faith. [797]
At the Post he attended the Protestant mission
school until he was 12. During these years he
lived with and worked for the English missionary,
herding his livestock and carrying mail, but was
not converted to Protestantism.

After leaving school he lived with his uncle 159
until he was 16, assisting him in cultivating his
little farm at the Post. He then went to Aquidauana
where he worked for 2 years as a mason's
assistant and later helped a Japanese vegetable
farmer. He then went to work on a fazenda, taking
his mother with him.

After working 3 months on the fazenda he returned
to the Post to help his grandfather, who
was becoming very old. After his grandfather
died he married and went to live with his father-in-law, [591]
where he remained for 4 years. During
this time he, together with some other Indians,
worked for a while on the telegraph line. In
1932 he and several other Indians went with the
manager of the Post to fight in the revolution,
staying away for 6 months.

When he came back he built his own house in
the village and began working for the manager
of the Post, doing many things, such as building
repairs, blacksmithing, and farming, for which [465]
he receives 14 cruzeiros per day. He does not
cultivate land of his own. He has been the captain
of one of the three football teams and the [526]
manager of the sports club where dances are given.

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years ago. He is now living with a young woman [59] out of wedlock, and because of this he is not on good [588] terms with the Protestant missionaries.

Vicenti lives in a two-room house with stake [342] walls plastered with mud and thatched with grass. On the same lot his son has built an adobe house [177] with a tile roof with the bonus money he received [352] from the army. Also, the son has regular beds and chairs while the father still uses the old-type furniture. Vicenti cultivates land outside the village [241] on which he plants manioc, maize, sweetpotatoes, cará, oranges, mangoes, tomatoes, and peppers. From manioc he makes meal and also starch [438] which he sells to the Indians in the village and to the farmers around Taunay. Vicenti says that farming is the securest means of making a living. Vicenti and his son also cut planks which they sell. Vicenti's real trade, however, is making rings, [326] bracelets, and earrings out of silver and, sometimes, even gold. [463] He learned this craft from his uncle. He does not like to work with metals, he says, because it is bad for his chest. However, at this time, he was working on an order from a trader in Taunay. Sometimes he works as a blacksmith and mechanic. As he says, "We poor people have to do a little of everything in order to live." Asked how he learned to be a blacksmith and mechanic, he replied, "I learned by watching others for 30 years."

Vicenti has traveled considerably, for a Terena [166] Indian. When very young he went with his parents to the borders of Paraguay and remained there until he was 10, after which his family returned to Bananal. When he was 18 he began to accompany expeditions into northern Mato Grosso. He once made a survey trip with a missionary. He is acquainted with all the larger towns of Mato Grosso and many of the towns in western São Paulo State.

SHOPKEEPER

Domingos Miguel (native name *Temelé*) was [551] born in Bananal and is about 52 years of age. His father was a Catholic, but his mother was a [795] Protestant. Domingos was baptized a Catholic, but is now interested in Protestantism. His wife is dead and he lives with his four children, his [592] father-in-law, and brother-in-law.

He lives in a painted two-room adobe house with [342] a tile roof. A lean-to kitchen is attached. In

[Banana/ Village]

structed. The type of house a Terena will build 342
depends on his financial resources as well as his
social prestige and the type may vary from a grass
hut to a painted adobe house with a tile roof. All
Terena houses, even when they are made of dried [177]
grass, are of the Brazilian pattern, that is, rectangular with a gable roof. A house generally has
two rooms, with a lean-to kitchen in the rear.
Each room usually has one window without glass
which can be closed for the night by a shutter.
There are usually a front and a back door. The
floors are always of beaten earth.

As the village is laid out in rectangular blocks [361]
the houses form a regular pattern facing the
streets, with gardens and orchards in the rear. [366]
The few Terena stores imitate the stores in Taunay
by painting "Casa (and name of owner)" over [177]
the doorway. In some cases adobe houses are [356]
whitewashed inside. A few dabs of yellow or red
paint cover the underlying whitewash.

A study of house types on the basis of building material and the presence or absence of paint gives the following distribution for the 86 buildings in the village:

Type:	Number
(1) Mud and wattle with thatched roof	22
(2) Adobe with thatched roof	19
(3) Painted adobe with tile roof	14
(4) Palisade walls with thatched roof	9
(5) Painted adobe with thatched roof	8
(6) Painted brick with tile roof	8
(7) All grass on bamboo frame	3
(8) Mud and wattle with tile roof	1
(9) Painted brick with thatched roof	1

Upon entering a Terena house one is immedi- 352
ately aware of the scarcity of furniture. Only the
best houses have a table made from rough hand-
sawn planks. It appears that the table is more for [264]
show than for use, as the Terena eat around the
cooking fire at the back of the house. The best
houses also have one or two rough wooden benches
or a chair or two made from box lumber. Almost 352
every house has a low platform bed resting on 513
forked stakes driven into the ground for the owner
and his wife. Other occupants sleep in home-made
hammocks, which during the day are hung against
the wall. In several of the houses regular spring
beds with mattresses are found. For covers the
Terena use a single cotton or light woolen blanket.
Blankets are not an important item, for during

[Bananal village]

Such articles as axes, machetes, sickles, hoes, and 353
weaving frames and material for weaving baskets 412
and hammocks are usually found in the corner of
the back room. Mats made from "piri" are [285]
found in some of the houses (such as were used in
the Chaco days).

CLOTHING AND ORNAMENTS

At this point it is necessary to mention only the 291
common everyday wearing apparel and the personal appearance of the Terena, as ceremonial
dress will be described in the section on dances.
In the village of Bananal all Indians wear Euro- [177] ●
pean dress. The cotton cloth woven by the Terena
forms only a small part of the material used for [286]
making their present-day clothing, as the Indians [439]
now buy the cheap cotton material offered for sale
in the stores of Taunay, Miranda, and Aquidauana.
After 30 years of mission training, it appears that [797]
all women can sew and eight sewing machines [294]
were observed in the village.

The general custom is for everyone to go barefoot. Only during "festas" are shoes worn by the [292]
more wealthy men and women, and even then people over 60 years old wear sandals made from hides or from old rubber tires. Shoes, like hats, are definitely in the category of luxuries.

For everyday wear, men use a shirt and a pair of trousers made from light-colored cotton material, usually with a faint stripe or check. No undershirt is used, but shorts are worn. Sport shirts worn over the shirt and outside the trousers are popular with young men. Some of the Terena men go about dressed in old Brazilian army uniforms which they received while serving in the army or which they have bought from others. During dances some of the young men wear suits made from cheap, tan-colored, cotton material. The young men also take great pride in being able to wear the baggy breeches and broadbrimmed felt hat of the "gaucho," or Brazilian cowboy.

Men have their hair cut in the modern style, and 302
it is a common sight on Sunday mornings to see them cutting each other's hair in front of the houses. Although they wash their hair often, it is seldom combed. Men are usually clean-shaven, although a few wear mustaches; straggly beards are seen only on the very old men.

Women wear slips and dresses made from cheap 291
cotton print of various colors. They do not wear
coats, although hand-knitted sweaters
are seen.

[Bananal Village]

coats, although hand-knitted sweaters are seen. 000
Old women wear their hair long, parted in the 302
middle and tied at the back of the neck with a ribbon or a piece of string. Young women who have been to the neighboring towns braid their hair and some even have permanent waves. The young ones also use face powder and lipstick. Locally 301
made gold and silver rings and bracelets are worn, the bracelets often having the name or initials of the wearer engraved on them. Necklaces of store beads are in common use and one may still see a few old-fashioned necklaces made from small dried berries.

Children under 5 years of age go about un- 291
clothed except in cold weather when they wear a sleeveless shirt but no pants. Very young chil- [854]
dren are carried straddling the mother's hip.

Although the houses and cooking arrangements 515
of the Terena do not appear to be exactly sanitary, the people themselves are clean and neat. In hot weather both men and women bathe every day. Clothes, even when worn and patched, are kept clean by constant washing. During any day of [296]
the week women can be seen at the stock water dams washing clothes.

AGRICULTURE

The agricultural practices of the Terena, today, 241
conform closely to the methods employed by the "caboclo," or poor Brazilian farmer. The tools 177
used, the crops grown, the methods of storing and preparing field produce for consumption are the same. In fact, the Terena have learned their agricultural methods by working on Brazilian farms. If any differences exist they arise from the greater efficiency of the "caboclo," resulting in larger areas cultivated, higher yields, and a larger reserve of food products. In the preparation of the land, [412]
the digging stick has given place to the iron hoe, and the stone ax to the machete and steel ax.

When a Terena wishes to prepare a field he looks 241
for the type of soil and moisture conditions that are suitable for the crop which he wishes to grow. As the village of Bananal is on a plateau the soil tends to be rather sandy and dry, suitable for fruit trees and for manioc, which is a hardy plant. Surrounding the houses, therefore, are found orchards of mangoes, oranges, lemons, and bananas, and some manioc. The orchards are planted largely at the insistence of the Post manager. The mango

[Bananal Village]

later the field is weeded again with a hoe. After 244
this weeding the manioc plant is strong enough to 262
overcome the weeds and no more weeding is necessary.
Sweet manioc takes 8 months to mature, and
bitter manioc 1 year. Even then, mature manioc is
left in the ground until required.

Sweet manioc is dug up as needed for daily use, 252
the tubers being boiled or baked. Less often, boiled
sweet manioc is mashed, made into cakes, and
baked. Sweet manioc is also widely used in soups
made with dried meat and onions. This latter dish
is probably of Brazilian origin because one meets
it in a "caboclo" hut as well as in a first-class hotel. [177]

Bitter manioc, on the other hand, cannot be used 252
until the poisonous acid is expelled. Bitter manioc 244
is dug up by rows and processed. An Indian will
say, "Today I am going to dig up two rows of
manioc," which means that he is going to prepare
a certain amount of manioc meal. In collecting
manioc a man is usually assisted by his family, all
carrying netted bags or large baskets and digging
sticks. The stalk is pulled up and the dark brown
tubers, ranging from 6 to 18 inches in length, are
dug up and placed in the bags and baskets and carried
home. At the back of the house the women 252
clean the tubers, scraping off the loose dirt, small 412
roots, and skin. The white tubers are now ready
for grating. There are at least three principal
types of graters. The simplest kind consists of a
board with many nails driven through it so that
one side is covered with spikes protruding about a
quarter of an inch from the board. A woman then
passes a tuber over the grater until it is reduced to
shreds. Another type of grater resembles our
kitchen grater, being a piece of tin with many
holes punched through it, and is used in the same
manner. A more efficient grater is made by covering
a wooden cylinder with a sheet of tin punched
full of holes. This roller is then fixed to the
center of a special table and is turned by hand,
the grated manoic falling into a vessel below.

The Terena no longer squeeze manioc pulp in a 252
cotton cloth with sticks at both ends to give added
purchase. Today, following the Brazilian custom, [177]
they put the pulp in a wooden press and squeeze
out the juice, which contains a poisonous acid.
The resulting semidry mass, called *hihi*, is first
dried in the sun, then put through a rough sieve,
and later toasted over a fire in a large iron pan.
The meal, *yuma*, is then ready for use. It is eaten [262]

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feathers. The war chief had considerable au- 616
thority over warriors both on war parties and dur- 701
ing periods of training. The position of the war 726
chief was not a hereditary one although his son
could succeed him. A new chief was always se- 554
lected from among outstanding warriors on the
basis of merit—he had to have killed at least one
enemy and to have otherwise distinguished him-
self as a leader and a man of courage.

The ceremony during which a new war chief 616
was chosen was a serious and solemn occasion. 701
The moiety chiefs called all the men of the village
together and extolled the merits of the candidate
for war chieftainship. The men-in-council would
then signify their assent. After the selection was
made, a slave would fill and light a clay pipe and
offer it to the old war chief, who, owing to age,
illness, or wounds, no longer wished to go to
war. After taking a few puffs the old war chief
would kneel on one knee before the candidate and
offer him the pipe saying, "I am now being relieved
of the responsibilities of leadership and hope that
you will carry on my task with success." He
would then rise, take off his jaguar skin shirt [554]
and offer it to the new chief as a symbol of his
new status. The new war chief would accept
it often with tears in his eyes, as he knew that
he must now be in the forefront of all battles
and that his life was in great danger.

While in the Chaco the Terena carried on war- 726
fare for captives, horses, cattle, sheep, and other [721]
loot. During large raids many villages combined,
the ablest war chief being selected to lead the [628]
war party. The moiety chiefs fought with the [616]
tribesmen but not in the front rank; this position [622]
was reserved for men who had committed some
criminal act, and if they succeeded in killing an
enemy they were considered free men. Fighting
was carried on with a bow and arrows pointed with [411]
deer antler, often poisoned and feathered with
vulture feathers; the javelin which in historic
times had an iron head; and a heavy wooden sword.

From what has been said we get a general pic- 105
ture of Terena social organization during the time
the Terena were living in the Chaco. That they
were village-dwelling agriculturists appears to
be corroborated by the accounts of Sānchez Labra-
dor. How much this village life was modified by [177]
the introduction of the horse is not quite so clear. [231]
From statements made by the Terena it seems

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105 231 177 that mobile warfare and the increasing dependence upon loot in the form of livestock and war captives led to a degree of nomadism and a band type of organization, with the war chief guiding the movements of several villages. Although the *unati* and their relatives remained the class of highest rank, they state that the war chief was the individual of highest rank; this would appear to support the assumption that once raiding became important, the mobile band also became important much after the pattern of the Mbayá who were organized into bands. Yet the Terena never quite gave up their dependence upon agriculture and appear to have planted crops whenever possible. When we first hear of the Terena in the accounts of Sánchez Labrador in the year 1767, they, along with their Chaná brethren, were agriculturists settled near the Apá tributary of the Paraguay River. Just prior to their movement to their present location in 1845, they had moved near the present site of Corumbá, 300 km. to the north. This fact, therefore, also seems to add evidence to the assumption that the horse inaugurated a nomadic type of life.

LAW

626 687 [596] [627] The law-enforcing group was the extended family. If a man committed murder the relatives of the murdered man would try to kill the murderer in revenge. By custom, only 1 day was allowed for retaliation. If the murderer escaped to his own relatives and an attempt was made to kill him a feud would follow. To avoid this, custom demanded that the murderer be placed in the forefront in the next raid. If he succeeded in killing an enemy, the crime would be expiated. If he did not succeed, he would have to continue until he killed an enemy or was killed himself. This rule applied to members of all classes. It is said that the relatives of the murdered man saw to it that the murderer had little chance of avoiding death at the hands of the enemy.

682 684 If a man caught another in the act of adultery with his wife, he could kill the man, which would settle the matter. He could kill his wife also, but he usually contented himself by beating her. But if the adulterer killed the husband it, also, was not considered murder, as he was defending his life. This, however, brought shame to the husbands

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husband). Father's sister's husband is termed 601
imaongo and mother's brother's wife *yenolulu*.

The terms for husband and wife are *ima* and *yeno*, respectively. The term for father-in-law is *imonjuko*, and the term for mother-in-law, *imongé*. Ego, male speaking, calls his brothers' wives *enomié* and his sisters' husbands *oneá*. These terms are extended to the spouses of parallel and cross cousins. A woman calls her brothers' wives *onungená* and her sisters' husbands *enomié*. The terms for son-in-law and daughter-in-law are *sinená* and *siná*, respectively.

The terminology for consanguineal relatives appears to indicate a kinship system basically similar to the Cheyenne and Arapaho subtype. Father's brother is classed with father and mother's sister with mother, while separate terms are used for mother's brother and father's sister. Grandparents and their spouses are distinguished by sex only. In ego's generation the terms for brother and sister are extended to parallel and cross cousins. The children of brothers are "sons" and "daughters," male speaking, or nephews and nieces, female speaking. The children of sisters are the reverse. All children of sons, daughters, nephews, and nieces are called grandchildren.

In the past, an individual was prohibited from 582
marrying parallel and cross cousins or anyone
whom he or she called sister or brother. An individual
was expected to marry within his or her
moiety and class. Marriage was generally monogamous, 595
but there was no objection to polygamy.
There was no strict rule of residence, the young 591
couple remaining with the parents who had greater
rank and wealth. There was no mother-in-law or 606
father-in-law avoidance.

The above is a general description of the social 105
organization of the Terena while they were in the 177
Chaco. How much was due to Mbayá influence
and how much belonged to the pre-Mbayá period
is difficult to ascertain in detail. Comparisons
with the Caduveo appear to indicate that the kinship
terminology, the marriage rules, and probably
the moieties are of Arawak origin, while the
class and military organization was taken over
from the Mbayá along with the horse. The custom [847]
of infanticide which the Terena claim to have practiced
in the Chaco might also be of Mbayá origin.

RECENT CHANGES

As soon as the Terena came into Brazilian territory their social organization began to change. The political organization was the first to feel the impact of the new conditions. In Brazilian territory raiding and warfare were no longer possible. With the cessation of warfare the position of war chief fell into disuse and with it the social status of the *shuna'asheti*, or warrior class. Although individuals still speak with pride about their warrior grandfathers, there is no marked social distinction given to anyone who can trace his descent from a *shuna'asheti*. Above all, the Brazilians did not recognize war chiefs as chiefs, nor did they accept differences between individuals on the basis of social status or rank. In appointing chiefs as spokesmen for the various Terena settlements the Brazilians asked the Terena to select a leading individual for this position, and as the Terena gave highest rank to the moiety chiefs and their relatives, the new chiefs came from this class further debasing the *shuna'asheti*. 177 565 648 [622]

The Brazilian custom of selecting a captain or chief to represent each Terena settlement was also instrumental in breaking down the dual organization. The Terena claim that the man chosen was the outstanding moiety chief of a village at the time when they entered Brazil. Once this choice was made there was a tendency for the chieftainship to pass from father to son. When the Brazilian Government deposed a chief and appointed one of their own choice, they selected an outstanding man who would do their bidding, disregarding altogether the class structure of the Terena. However the choice was made, once the recognition of only one chief became customary the term was no longer applied to another individual in the settlement. Above all, the new chief had much greater powers than the old moiety chiefs who were actually only ceremonial leaders. The new chief was a direct representative of the Brazilian Government and as such was instrumental in making distributions of lands, providing economic assistance, finding work for the men, and in maintaining order in the settlement. 177 622 648 616 [554]

It might be argued that in spite of the new political orientation, the moieties could still have retained their function in regulating marriage and in organizing ceremonial life. In accordance with the statements of Terena informants the moieties 178 182 616

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did continue these functions for some time after 178
the arrival of the Terena in Brazil, but these functions 182
were carried out with increasing laxity. 616
They say that men began to marry women belonging
to the opposite moiety and that the children
of such marriages could choose the moiety
to which they wished to belong. Furthermore,
during ceremonials one could temporarily join the
opposite moiety although still maintaining the
membership of the moiety into which one was
born. The gradual break-down of moiety endogamy
and ceremonial activity appears to be associated
with the enforced dispersion of the
Terena. When families and individuals found
themselves scattered far and wide on the fazendas
and in the towns it was not always possible to
follow tribal customs, the tendency being to copy
the ways of the Brazilians among whom they
lived. The break-down of the moiety organization
evidently proceeded so far that when the
Terena again settled, this time on reservations,
after 1910 the old moiety customs were not reinstituted.

Today the moieties no longer function as ceremonial
units. If asked to which moiety he belongs,
a Terena will give an answer but he will
not volunteer this information. As vital functioning
units, therefore, the moieties no longer exist.
The old dances which were organized on a moiety [535]
basis have largely disappeared. The really important 177
social activities today are centered around
the "bate-pau," a Brazilian pageant with Terena 527
elements, and football. In each of these performances 535
the performers are divided into two groups
with different body paintings in the "bate-pau,"
and different colored sweaters in the football
teams. In the "bate-pau" there are two dance
leaders who select their followers and train them
for the performance. The dance, as will be described
later, is performed by the two groups acting
in opposition to one another. Competition is
keen, the winning dance team receiving the applause
of the village. Football, likewise, is a performance [526]
in which opposition of two groups is a
primary feature, each being led by its duly appointed
captain. In addition, when we know that 177
the Terena in most villages are divided into Catholics 182
and Protestants, each sect having its own characteristic 795
leaders and social functions, it is difficult
to avoid the conclusion that the Terena have been

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organized on a basis of new forms of opposition 177
which have largely replaced the old dual organization 182
but which continue the underlying social motives 795
for organized opposition. The Terena are keenly aware of these new social activities and their competitive nature, and most of their leisure time is taken up in training for, carrying on, or otherwise participating in these activities.

The Terena admit that they had slaves when 178
they arrived in Brazil, yet, they are, today, at a 567
loss to explain what happened to them. As slaves 565
were captured as children it is not likely that they returned to their original homes. On the other hand, the Terena never mention anyone as having slave blood, something which is still customary among the Caduveo. The Terena also deny that they married slaves. If this were strictly true the only tenable hypothesis is that the slave class as a social group lost its identity along with the general
disappearance of social stratification. The [648]
fact that slavery was made illegal in Brazil in 1888
undoubtedly had its effect, but important, too, was [797]
the effect of the Protestant missionaries, who have been active among the Terena since 1913.

Another circumstance which in all probability 178
led to the disappearance of the distinction between 182
slave and free man was the dispersion of the Terena 565
during the eighties and nineties of the last century.
The encroachment of the "fazendeiros" upon Terena [464]
lands forced the Terena to seek a livelihood through wage labor. This tended to put all Terena
on the same economic and social level. When they [511]
again came together on reservation lands around 1910, the old class distinctions were more or less effaced. A new generation had grown up in the meantime which had not participated in the old pattern of tribal life. This fact of dispersion and
subsequent regrouping is something which the [361]
Caduveo did not experience and may account for [171]
the more rapid disappearance of class distinctions among the Terena than is true among the Caduveo. Another contributing factor may be the fact that the Terena developed a class structure later than the Mbayá and that it never became so strong a part of their social organization as it did among the Mbayá.

The primary cause for the disappearance, not only of slavery but of the whole class structure of *unati*, *shuna'asheti*, *wahereshane*, and *kauti*, was the forced abandonment of warfare and the no-

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Brazilians so consider them. To the Brazilians the 101
Terena are Indians. Of what does this Indianism 829
consist? Outwardly there is no great difference
between the Terena and the Brazilian "caboclo"
or mestizo. In physical appearance many people
who call themselves Brazilians in Mato Grosso
show more color than the Terena, being mulattoes
or a mixture of White, Negro, and Indian blood.
The writer has met several individuals in Mato
Grosso who admit being of pure Indian descent,
yet consider themselves Brazilians owing to the
fact that they have left their tribe and live in a
town as members of a Brazilian community. Racial
background and physical appearance, therefore,
are not the bases of Terena Indianism. Most
of the old people and all Terena of middle age or
younger speak Portuguese, so on this score, too,
they can pass as Brazilians. Nor can religion be [771]
the basis, for the Terena are all nominally Christians.

In their economic pursuits the Terena can 101
scarcely, if at all, be distinguished from their
"caboclo" neighbors. They live in the same kind 177 ●
of houses, wear the same kinds of clothing, eat the 829
same kinds of food, cultivate their fields in the
same way, work for the same fazendas and the
same railroad company. At this point it must be
remembered that this adjustment is not completely
a one-way process. The "caboclos" have,
in the course of years, borrowed much from their
Indian neighbors. In fact part of the "caboclo"
cultural background is Indian. Yet, the "caboclos"
do not consider themselves as Indians nor
do the Terena consider themselves as "caboclos."

A review of the recent history of the Terena 101
leads to the conclusion that Terena Indianism is
based on four conditions: land, legal status, lan- 177
guage, and tradition, all of which are intimately 182
related and will stand or fall together. Without
doubt the primary element which maintains Terena
social unity is the possession of a common
territory which excludes non-Indians. If Indian
lands had not been established in 1910 it is doubtful
whether the Terena could have maintained
their social cohesion. In all likelihood they would
have dispersed, and gradually, through intermarriage
with Brazilians, have lost their tribal
identity. The isolation provided by a common
territory checked the process of detribalization

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177
182

and led to a process of reintegration and social stability.

648 Associated with security in land tenure, and as part of the general policy of protection provided by the Brazilian Indian Service, is the special legal status, which the Terena, along with other Indians, enjoy. In all disputes either between the Terena themselves or between a Terena and a Brazilian, cases are tried by the courts of the Indian Service. In this way Indian rights are protected, particularly in cases where the dispute involves an Indian and a Brazilian. In minor crimes committed within the reservation, the manager of the Post has the right to try cases. These crimes usually consist of petty thefts, fighting, and sex crimes involving the pregnancy of [673] unmarried and often under-age girls. Punishment consists in the culprit being sent to another [681] reservation for a period of time during which he has to perform hard labor. It is a common sight when visiting reservations to see a number of these men performing the menial tasks of cleaning the premises, carrying water and wood, and performing other nonspecialized tasks. In cases involving murder the Indian is tried either in the regional [682] headquarters of the Indian Service or by a representative sent by the Indian Service from Rio de Janeiro. The Indian Service has a special penal post in the State of São Paulo where Indians of this region serve out their sentences. In addition to the special treatment of crimes, the Indian Service exercises some control over the movements of the Indians in and out of the reservation. Permission to leave the reservation has to be obtained from the manager, who thus has a general knowledge of the whereabouts of Indians when they are away from the Post. While an Indian is away at work, the manager sees that his house and property are protected and that his cultivated land is not taken by another. If the Indian is in distress and needs money to return to the Post the manager assists him financially.

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182
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The presence of a permanent home and the protection of person and property provided by the Indian Service makes a stable community life possible for the Terena. This group life maintains the Terena language. In each home the parents teach their children to speak Terena. At about 7 years of age they enter the Indian Service or Protestant school where they are taught to

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speak, read, and write Portuguese. But Terena remains the language of the village. Among themselves the Terena, young and old, use their own language. It is but natural, therefore, that certain Terena customs, beliefs, and values should be perpetuated through the medium of the native language. Shamanism, folklore, customs of greeting, and attitudes to one another and the Brazilians are thus maintained. 177 182 191

We have dealt, so far, with the conditions which have led to the integration of the Terena as a group and to the perpetuation of Terena Indianism. It still remains to be seen how the Terena are articulated to the non-Indian world around them. The primary contact agent and principal molding force, of course, is the Indian Service as represented by the Post manager. The manager is the patron of the Indians. From him come medical, legal, and economic assistance. The nature of these interrelations has already been discussed. But in addition to these primary necessities, the Post manager plays a role of far wider personal significance. It is true that this role varies with the personality of the manager but all are required to provide leadership in maintaining satisfactory relationship between the Indians and to develop a certain degree of patriotic feeling among the natives under their charge. This the manager does by displaying the flag and in leading the singing on important State holidays; in providing industrious natives with the services of pure-bred bulls and roosters supplied by the Indian Service; in giving small prizes to children who do well in the school; by supporting at least one of the football teams by providing sweaters and pennants; and by taking personal interest in the families who measure up to the demands of the Service. 177 182 648

As the manager is the highest authority and social leader in the village, it follows that status among the Terena is measured in relation to the patronage and good will of the manager. Outstanding Terena are principally men who stand high in the regard of the manager. To them the manager gives positions of trust such as representing him in commercial connections with the fazendas, representing Indian affairs at headquarters, and holding the position of policemen in the village. To these men the manager gives special assistance and materials in building houses and 177 554 648

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fences, and provides them with credit if they wish 177 to buy oxen, horses, saddles, and other equipment 554 beyond their immediate capacity to pay. On the 648 other hand, if the men are drunkards and shirk their duties to their families and the Post, they are required to work and receive not money but credit for food and clothing at a certain store in the nearby town of Taunay. It follows from this that the manager has close friends and also enemies. The present manager of Bananal claims that he has an armed Indian bodyguard to protect him from Indians who hate him for enforcing Indian Service regulations. How much of this is really due to specific Indian ill will or to the prevalent custom in Mato Grosso of important men having bodyguards is not quite certain. At least we can say that social status or the lack of status is closely connected with the manager of the Post.

The other contact agent and molding force 177 among the Terena is the Protestant mission station. The activities of the missionaries go far 797 beyond the inculcation of Protestant religious doctrine. Besides religious teaching the missionaries supervise the moral behavior of their followers. Smoking, drinking, dancing, and sex irregularities are prohibited, and the breaking of these rules results in a loss of status, and of economic, medical, and educational assistance. The son of the present chief who had caused the pregnancy of a girl in the village was asked by the missionaries to marry the girl. For one reason or another the chief's son refused to do so. The Protestant missionaries were powerful enough to have the man exiled from [624] the village. This caused considerable disturbance among the Indians, as neither the Indians nor the Brazilians take the same view of the unmarried mother as do the American Protestant missionaries. On the writer's last visit to Bananal both the chief and his son had withdrawn from the settlement and were living in a nearby town, at least temporarily. Actually this matter had repercussions [648] on higher levels, for the Indian Service closed the Protestant school for some months. This event reveals the power and importance of the Protestant missionaries in influencing life in the village. Conformity to the Protestant way of life is customarily achieved through economic and medical rewards, and it does seem true that the Protestant Indians have better and cleaner houses and are educationally more advanced. Yet, it is also true that the status-giving capacity of the manager and the missionaries leads to tension and discord. The role of Catholic missionaries, also Americans, is much less important. They visit the settlements only occasionally and are concerned almost solely with questions of religious belief, births, marriages, and deaths. 177 797

The economic contacts of the Terena outside the villages are restricted to the fazendas, the railroad, and the towns. It is on the fazendas and the railroad that the Terena make most of their cash incomes, and where they learn to use tools and other mechanical techniques. In the towns the Terena learn such arts as carpentry, tailoring, and masonry of a more advanced order than in the villages. In the towns, too, they come into contact with a variety of individuals, the movies, bars, and houses of prostitution. It is here where the men learn to dress better and where the girls learn the custom of using lipstick, face powder, and having their hair waved. A more organized form of contact with the towns is by means of football games played by Terena teams against the town teams. 177 [464] [434]

Although every young Terena has the right to go out to work, and some of them spend a number of years away from the villages, none, so far, according to the manager of Bananal, has achieved success or independence in the Brazilian community. Sooner or later they return. In Campo Grande, the largest town in southern Mato Grosso, a young Terena was working as a waiter in a hotel. When the manager of the hotel was asked what he thought of the services of the Terena waiter, he said, "He is the laziest waiter I have." So far the Terena have not shown a capacity to advance further than supplying the common labor market on the fazendas, the railroad, and in the towns. When they grow tired of working they return to their native villages. 166 177 464

SUMMARY

Enough has been said to enable us to outline briefly the main features of the development of Terena social organization in post-Columbian times. 105

1. In association with, and perhaps in reaction to the Mbayá, the Terena developed a military and class organization based on the use of the horse for raiding. The resulting mobility led to 105 177 [361]

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nomadism and to the abandonment of permanent 105 settlements, probably giving rise to a band type of 177 organization resembling that of the Mbayá. [361]

2. On entering Brazil the military and class organization was the first to disappear. 105 The appointment of captains or village chiefs first weak- 177 ened and finally abolished the positions of the 182 moiety chiefs.

3. During the period in which the Terena were forced to disperse and seek a livelihood on the [616] fazendas, the function of the moieties in regulating marriage and in organizing ceremonials grew weaker, an individual being able to marry his opposite and to shift temporarily into the opposite moiety during ceremonials.

4. With the reintegration of the Terena on reservation lands the moieties as functional entities disappeared altogether, being replaced by other forms of social organization.

The present social organization we might, therefore, 105 summarize as follows: The some 3,000 [162] Terena, today, occupy 11 settlements. Ten of the local groups, or villages, are established on defined [648] areas of Government land. Contact between the members of the different villages is maintained [628] through intermarriage, visiting between relatives and friends, football matches between the principal villages, cooperation in dances, pageants, and religious processions.

Within the principal villages we find the following structural elements: The basic unit is the [594] individual family, which carries on the primary economic activities associated with the rearing and training of the young. The extended family is [596] no longer a defined house group although bilateral kinship ties are strong, very much after the Brazilian pattern. Young married men live either [591] with their fathers or fathers-in-law in the same house, but in most cases they sooner or later build their own houses on the same lot. Politically the [648] village is organized around the Post with the Brazilian manager exercising authority through [361] his police force and the Terena village chief, or headman. In the principal villages the people are organized into two religious groups, Catholics [771] and Protestants, centering around missionary activities. In recreational activities the larger [526] villages are organized into football teams and, in Bananal, into a football club which organizes Brazilian dances. Native dances like the shaman

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Native dances like the shaman dance and the "bate-pau" are organized by dance leaders. In economic affairs there is some degree of specialization, owing to the presence of stores, masons, carpenters, and commercial agricultural activities. 105 [535] [463]

The Terena as a people are linked to the non-Indian world, first, by being made a part of the Brazilian State through the activities of the Indian Service and its representatives, the Post managers. Secondly, they are linked to the Catholic and Protestant churches by means of the missionaries active among them. Thirdly, they are economically linked to the fazendas and neighboring towns owing to dependence upon wage work. 105 177

The attitude of the local Brazilian toward the Terena is one of tolerant disdain. Like other Indians they are sometimes called "bugres," a term of abuse associated with sodomy and heresy. The Indian, a Brazilian will say, is "a drunkard, a thief, lazy, and unreliable. He works when he feels like it and will leave his job for no reason at all." There is, however, no discrimination on racial grounds; if an Indian is educated and a good worker he is accepted as an equal. The Brazilian treats a Terena as a member of a minority group and points out the social characteristics of this group. A Terena, on the other hand, accepts Brazilians in general as superiors but adds that if he were better educated he could compete with a Brazilian on equal terms. That these attitudes are rather class attitudes than race attitudes is revealed by the statement which a Terena made about the Caduveo, "If the Caduveo would only stop hunting and killing one another and start farming like we do they would be better off." The Terena recognize the fact that the Caduveo were once great warriors and held a superior position. But as they are now poor hunters they are considered as having lower status than the Terena. Status differences between the Indian groups and between the Brazilians and Indians are, therefore, primarily based on economic and social conditions rather than on racial differences. 105 648 186 [554]

THE LIFE CYCLE

BIRTH (IPUHICOTI-HIUKÁ)

The Terena recognize that pregnancy is caused by sexual intercourse. A woman becomes aware that she is pregnant when her menses cease and 843 [842]

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she has spells of nausea and is particular about 843
her food. In general the mother of a young woman
informs her about her condition. The Terena
have two words for pregnancy, *ikaikoné* and [192]
kochuecháti. The Terena distinguish between a
married man who is a father and one who is not,
a father being called *imá* and a childless man, *máa*.

In the past, infanticide and abortion were prac- 847
ticed. Whether this was an original Terena cus-
tom or was taken over from the Mbayá is not cer-
tain. As the Arawak-speaking Guaná did not
practice infanticide there is a strong likelihood [177]
that the Terena took over this custom from the
Mbayá. The explanation the Terena now give for
infanticide is that it permitted a family to have
male and female children alternately. If the first [842]
child was a boy, the second should be a girl and if
a boy was born, he was put to death by being
strangled at birth by the midwife. If a family
had too many children, or if children were incon- [156]
venient, the expectant mother would go to a sha-
man who would make her drink a beverage pre-
pared from certain roots. If this failed the mother
might still have the child strangled. If a male
child was due to survive, twins, if they were a boy
and a girl, were accepted; but if both were boys [845]
one would be killed. Twins were due, they be-
lieved, to the fact that the mother had eaten double
fruits.

If the child was wanted, the mother, in the past, 844
gave birth in her own home, attended by her
mother or mother-in-law. Shamans were called [156]
only in cases of difficult birth. The husband must [845]
cut the umbilical cord, *uró*. As far as the Terena
remember, no special knife was necessary to per-
form this act. The *uró* was later used as a charm [789]
in cases of difficult birth by being placed on the
abdomen of a woman giving birth. In order to
give birth the mother squatted on her heels, sup-
porting herself by holding on to some stationary
object. The midwife would massage her abdomen
and assist in the removal of the child. The mid-
wife then washed the child and gave it to the [846]
mother; she then rested for 6 days before resuming
her duties.

After the child was safely delivered the husband [262]
would go out in search of "palmito de bocaiuva" [824]
for his wife, for these palm shoots were believed
to induce a bountiful supply of milk. It was the 553
duty of the paternal grandfather to give a name 603

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to the child, the name usually being that of a relative 553
long dead. A mother suckled a child until 203
a new baby was born or until the child was able to 853
eat solid food. A child was carried strapped on 854
the mother's back by a belt called *apóone* or held
by the same strap in front while suckling. For
short distances small children were carried straddling
the hip of the bearer. Childbirth appears to 844
have been treated purely as a secular event, for
the Terena remember no special ceremonies or
rites connected with it.

Today, childbirth is treated in the Brazilian 177 ●
fashion. In cases of difficult birth the missionaries 844
are present to give medical help. They also give [797]
advice in the care of children. The infant is baptized
into either the Catholic or Protestant faith.
In addition to receiving a Brazilian name, the 55
child also receives a Terena name. It is whispered 175
that abortion and even infanticide are still occasionally 847
practiced.

PUBERTY

Although the puberty ceremony for boys and 881
girls is no longer practiced, the Terena say that 622
in the past each family celebrated the coming of 565
age of its children, only the chiefly class giving a
public ceremony. When a chief's daughter
reached the age of puberty, *iyoti*, her kinswomen
fastened a small bell, *tohí*, over the doorway of her
house, which was periodically struck by one of the
women. The girl painted her body black with [302
"genipapo" or red with "urucú" and sat crosslegged 516]
on a reed mat in the center of the house.
The women of the village then brought cotton and
beans which they threw over the head of the girl.
The kinswomen of the girl gave the visitors food
and drink. There was no long period of seclusion,
as this ceremony lasted for 1 day only.

Even today, menstruating women paint themselves 841
black and abstain from washing as in the
past. Contact with water is believed to cause the 823
enmity of a certain water witch that lives in a lake
or river and controls the supply of fish.

In the past, the sons of the chiefs went through 881
a public ceremony at puberty called *tima*. The
principal part of the ceremony consisted in the boy 622
approaching his father dressed in a light-red 565
blanket which he took off, then donning a dark-red 292
blanket handed him by his father. The dark-red
blanket was a symbol not only of adulthood but

a specially adorned reed mat called *pouhi hevé* 585 *koyenóti* (footrest for marriage). After getting up from the hammock the boy and girl were considered a married couple. Feasting and dancing then took place in accompaniment to the singing and the playing of drums and flutes. This is a description of the marriage ceremony as practiced by the *unati*, or moiety chiefs, and their relatives.

In the case of a marriage involving the son of 584 a war chief the procedure was a bit different. The 565 war chief and his wife, preceded by three warriors in full regalia consisting of rhea feather headdresses [292] and skirts and armed with bows and arrows, went to the house of the girl's father. Arriving at the home of the future bride the warriors knelt before the girl's father and made a request for his daughter in the name of the boy's father. If the girl's father agreed the visitors were requested to sit down, the two fathers sitting on the same reed mat. In this position they discussed the wedding date and determined the time [273] when they would go out to gather honey for making the beverage, *mopó*.

When the *mopó* was ready the ceremony took 585 place. The groom and his parents were led by 565 three warriors to the house of the bride's parents. Upon entering the house the three warriors said, "We have brought your son." The bride's father then thanked the warriors and led the groom to a hammock on which the bride was sitting. After sitting together the pair were considered married. The Terena say that in an older form of marriage the bride and groom sat on the reed mat, *hituri*, and held hands. The three warriors were given *mopó* to drink until they were not able to get up. Guests took part in dances and singing and partook of the food and *mopó* that had been prepared in large quantities beforehand.

Today the young man makes his request directly 177 to the girl's father, and if the father agrees the 585 young couple are married as far as Terena custom [178] is concerned. According to informants, the majority of marriages are made in this manner. If a young man and woman wish to marry according to Brazilian law, they must register and then be married in either a Catholic or Protestant church. As the registration fee is 200 cruzeiros the young people may have to be engaged for some time until the groom accumulates the money.

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A church wedding is usually followed by a party 177
in which both relatives and friends participate. 585
After being married the young couple go to live
with the bride's parents, although this rule is no [591]
longer adhered to strictly.

BURIAL

When an adult person died, old people gathered 761
at the house of the dead. Young people were not 764
permitted to view or come near the corpse, as it
was believed this could bring death to the young.
Around the corpse the people placed all his belongings,
clothes, tools, weapons, and ornaments. If
anything were missing the ghost would return to [775]
claim his property.

After lamentations at the house, the corpse was 764
wrapped in his or her clothes and carried to the
cemetery some distance from the village; the corpse
was placed in a grave on his back with the feet facing
the west. This was done in order that the
ghost, when freed from the body, could go to the
Chaco. On the way to the graveyard a shaman
would walk in front of the procession and as he [756]
reached the graveyard he would tell the other
ghosts about whom they were going to receive.
After the body was buried the shaman would be
the last to leave the cemetery, his duty being to
prevent the ghost from returning to the village.

After returning to the village, the relatives often 768
burnt the house in which a deceased adult had
lived. Sometimes, however, they were satisfied by
changing the doorway of the house. The name of
the dead person could not be uttered for several [551]
months. Members of the dead person's family
would change their names. All this was done in
order to confuse the ghost and to prevent it from
returning to the living relatives. It was believed
that if the ghost came back it would take a living
relative back to the land of the dead.

The close female relatives of a dead man would 765
remove their clothing and cut their hair as a sign
of mourning. For a month after death they would
wail at sunrise and sunset, sitting naked in their
houses. The wife or mother of a dead man was
supposed to show even more explicit signs of
mourning. The widow, for instance, was not permitted
to work or to bathe for many days. In
addition, there were regulations which restricted
freedom of widows and widowers. A widower was [587]
permitted to marry only a widow. If a man had

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lost two wives, he could marry only a woman who 765
had lost two husbands. Even with all the pre- [587]
cautions taken against the ghost, the influence of
death clung to individuals who had been inti-
mately connected with a dead person. Today, [177]
burial is performed in a Christian manner al-
though some of the old women still mourn by
cutting their hair.

MODERN CHANGES

Today the whole cycle of events which mark the 178
important changes of status in individual lives 797
has been changed. Children are baptized, youths
go through confirmation, people are married, and
are finally buried by the Church. An important
period in the life of every young Terena is the [871]
time he or she goes to school. It is in the school
that they learn, not only to read and write, but to
understand the religion, ways, and customs of the
people among whom they live.

There are two schools in Bananal, one the official 797
Catholic school, the other, operated by Protestant 871
missionaries. The Protestant school was established in 1925. Until 1935 studies were carried on in the house of the chief. After this date a separate schoolhouse was built. In 1936 the Indian Service built the official Government school. The curriculum is the same in both schools, being determined by law. The religious teaching, however, is different. The school year begins on February 15 and ends on November 15, winter holidays extending from June 15 to July 1. Classes begin at 8 o'clock in the morning and go on until 11 o'clock with a 10-minute recess at 9:30.

The Protestant school today has about 100 stu- 797
dents, with one American teacher and 3 Terena 872
girls as assistant teachers. In 1936 the enrollment reached 120. About 20 new students enter each year. By law, students must attend school for 4 years. The three assistant teachers are in charge of the first 3 years, the missionary teacher instructing the advanced students in the fourth year. In the first 2 years the students buy only a slate and a few exercise books and pencils. In the last 2 years they have to buy textbooks. In the first 2 years they learn reading, writing, and simple arithmetic. In the last 2 years courses in geography, Brazilian history, grammar, drawing, and a little natural science is added. For half an hour every morning teaching of the gospel

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of meat from his mouth, blow on it until it took 756
the form of a snake, later making it disappear 796
into his mouth; or he would take a small plant 789
from his mouth and by blowing on it make it grow into a large flowering plant, later making it diminish and disappear.

This performance of miracles would continue
before the house of each shaman. When this part 796
of the *ohéo'koti* was completed the shamans withdrew 756
to appear again dressed in red mantles called [292]
haráramototi. Again they marched before each house stopping at the houses of the shamans where each shaman would give his colleagues the mead which he had prepared. After all the mead had been consumed the shamans retired and the *ohéo'koti* was finished for the season.

Among the Terena, shamans had, in the past, a 756
position of extraordinary prestige. This high 554
status was due, no doubt, in part to their alleged power to cure, to discover lost objects, to assist in hunting, and to discover the location of enemy war parties, and, in part, to their alleged power to perform miracles. Besides participating intimately in the fundamental activities of social life, the shamans were the repositories and the transmitters of tribal lore and of origin myths and were the connecting link between the Terena and the supernatural world in which everyone believed. Above all, they were instrumental in bringing the people together at the time of the annual *ohéo'koti* during which both the living and the ghosts of the dead participated in observing the power of the shamans to control the world.

PRESENT-DAY RELIGION

Although the Terena have been in contact with 756
a Christian community for over a century and [177]
Protestant missionaries have been active in Bananal [797]
for about 35 years, shamanism is by no means dead. At Bananal there are, today, six shamans—four men and two women. The four men (Eperú,
José, Sabino, and Brigido) were consulted. Eperú 756
for instance, explained that he learned his shamanism 775
from his father who was also a shaman. He [789]
said that although he does not have the power to perform miracles, such as making a "bicho" (a little animal) come out of his mouth, he has spirits with whom he can get into contact. These spirits are the ghosts of dead shamans. He calls the spirits at night when he wants them to help him.

He calls them by name, shaking his *itáaka* and 756
holding his *ki'pahá*. If people are present he 775
makes them close their eyes while he is calling the
spirits. "*Giahí kaponé neishá vomorí*" (Come to
me, look at me), he says. This request, twice re-
peated, is enough to make the spirits come to him.
He then makes his wishes known to the spirits.
When he is in contact with the spirits he claims [787]
he is in a trance. During trances Eperú says he
sometimes visits the Chaco, the place where *Voropí*
lives. He says that shamans who get in contact [789]
with *Voropí* are able to control rain. On coming
out of the trance he tells people where he has been
and with whom he has spoken.

When he is curing, the spirits tells him what to 756
do, how to suck the objects out of the patient's 775
body, or what roots and herbs to use. If a snake 755
has bitten a person, he sucks the wound. He says
that when a shaman learns how to cure certain
diseases, he does not always have to consult the
spirits.

Another shaman, Sabino, is said to be able to 756
perform miracles just like the old Terena shamans. [789]
People claim that they have seen Sabino make
"bichos" come out of his mouth. One of the fe-
male shamans is said to be visited by a jaguar [776]
spirit. No one has seen the jaguar spirit but they
have heard it speaking with the shaman at night.

In addition to the six shamans just mentioned, 177
there are two Indians, Feliciano and Japão, who 755
are said to cure people by blessing them in the 756
Christian fashion. They learned to ask help from
the saints when they worked on Brazilian
fazendas. These two men, although considered
shamans, use Christian saints instead of the
ghosts of shamans.

It appears, therefore, that the Terena have
adopted Christian beliefs and fitted them into their
own pattern of religion. On the other hand, the 648
Brazilians use Terena shamans. Colonel Horta 756
Barbosa, who is in charge of the Indian reserva-
tions in this part of Brazil, stated that there are
still many active Terena shamans and that one of
the female shamans has many Brazilian clients.
These "customers" would come long distances to
consult her about sickness, lost objects, and mat-
ters concerning their personal life. The colonel
said that he has no objection to shamanism, but he [273]
did object to the Brazilians bringing cane rum
to the reservations.

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Shamanism is still an important part of Terena 771
belief. The Terena still speak with awe of their 756
famous shamans who, in the past, performed great miracles. In a sense, these old shamans have become legendary culture heroes, symbols of Terena unity and past greatness. Although they admit that present-day shamans do not have as much power as the shamans of old, they believe that the shamans of today can cure sickness and can demonstrate their powers. Many Terena, although members of either the Catholic or Protestant church, attend shamanistic performances. An
interesting feature of present shamanism and one [177]
which shows Christian influence is the fact that some of the shamans attach a cross to the handle of the *ki'pahé*. In addition, the *ohéo'koti* is given on the 19th of April, the internationally recognized "Indian Day." Thus while Terena shamanism may have lost much of its meaning in competition with Christianity and white man's medicines and technology, shamanism is, along with the Terena language, a strong link with the past, an element which is still specifically Terena and one which gives the Terena a feeling of social and cultural unity.

Although the Terena have no clear record of 771
missionary activity among the tribe from the date 177
of their arrival in Brazil until about 1910, per- 797
sonal histories show that many old Terena were baptized and considered themselves Christians. We know that before the establishment of the Post, the Terena worked on the fazendas and that the Catholic fathers wandered from farm to farm in their official capacity, baptizing, marrying, and holding religious services even as they do in Mato Grosso today. Terena farm laborers, therefore, came under the influence of the "padres" quite early and it is most likely that the priests visited Terena villages from their headquarters in Campo Grande, Miranda, and Aquidauana. Although no statistics exist, it is more than probable that most, if not all, of the Terena were nominally Christians by 1900.

In 1910 a number of English Protestant mission- 797
aries, belonging to the Inland South American Missionary Union, visited the Terena led by Henry Whittington, who, in 1913, returned to establish the first permanent mission at Bananal. Along with his missionary activities, Whittington began teaching the Terena children to read and write

Portuguese. He appears to have made a favorable 797
impression, for the Terena speak about him even today.

When the "Serviço de Proteção aos Indios" established the Post at Bananal in 1916 it brought [648]
the Terena together and made Catholic missionary activity among them more effective. Around 1920 the English Protestants appear to have withdrawn their mission. By 1925 American Protestant missionaries, belonging to the South American Indian Mission, had established a mission and school at Bananal where a missionary, a teacher, and a nurse are still active. In 1930 an American branch of the Redemptorist Catholic mission was established at Aquidauana, from where the fathers make periodic visits to the Terena villages.

In addition to the regular activities of the Amer- 797
ican Protestant and Catholic missionaries, the 776
Brazilian nuns in Aquidauana organize saint's day 796
celebrations among the Indians. A popular saint 177
among the Terena is Saint Sebastian. Being a martyr he is represented bound to a tree with an arrow in his side. The arrow may have something to do with the selection of this saint to serve Indian needs. Among Brazilian Catholics, Saint Sebastian provides protection against hunger, sudden death, and pests. A month before Saint Sebastian's day the nuns prepare a banner mounted on a staff showing the figure of the saint. This banner is then presented to the village of Ipegue, near Bananal, where the Indians are predominantly Catholic. The Indians begin their procession from Ipegue and after visiting all the Terena villages they end up in Aquidauana on Saint Sebastian's day, where the final celebration takes place.

During the procession the bearer of the banner 796
walks in front, followed by a man playing a violin, 177
two drummers, and, behind these, the singers and the faithful. The procession stops in front of each house and the people sing. The banner bearer then asks shelter for Saint Sebastian. The owner offers shelter and gives alms to every member in the procession. Wherever the procession happens to stop for the night a dance takes place. Some of the money received is spent on food. During the night dancing is periodically interrupted by prayers to Saint Sebastian. The procession continues in this manner until it reaches Aquidauana, where more dancing and praying take place.

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Although the Terena formerly paraded the banners 796
of Saint John and Saint Anthony they have 177
now restricted themselves to Saint Sebastian. The [178]
other saints' days, however, are holidays, during
which the Terena play football and dance Brazilian [529]
dances.

The presence of both Catholic and Protestant 182
missionary activity among the Terena has introduced 797
competition and conflict into the religious 798
picture. Besides competing for converts, the two
creeds have led to many tensions among the Terena 152
themselves. The football teams are organized on [526]
a religious basis; Catholics and Protestants compete
for favors from the manager of the Post;
the schools separate the children; the entertainment
of Catholic and Protestant groups differs.

In addition to this social division and tension, the codes of the two creeds have led to psychological disturbances. The insistence of the Protestants upon a strict code of behavior makes Protestantism a more difficult religion to practice than Catholicism. Local observers claim that the Terena professing Protestantism appear frustrated and unhappy and that they belong to the church through fear rather than through voluntary desire. The Catholic Terena are permitted to smoke, drink alcohol, and dance. The Protestants claim that these activities are sinful and that no sinner can enter the Kingdom of heaven. On the other hand, the Protestant mission provides advantages which the Catholics do not offer. Protestant missionaries give free medical assistance, provide free education in the Protestant school, and help the Indians in their economic and personal affairs.

Cases of transfer from one creed to another are 771
common. A Catholic youth listening to his Protestant 795
friends may suddenly become conscious of
his sinfulness and will join the Protestant church
in search of salvation. A Protestant Terena, on
the other hand, who breaks the strict moral code
imposed upon him will be punished by having
the advantages which the mission provides taken
away from him. This often results in his leaving
the Protestant church, removing his children from
the Protestant school, and joining the Catholic
church. Adultery and drunkenness on the part of [684]
the Terena are the principal causes leading to the [689]
abandonment of the Protestant church.

[Post Chaco Period]
[Chaco Period]

The social tensions arising out of the competitive 797
nature of Catholic and Protestant missionary 798
activity among the Terena is something which 578
both Protestant and Catholic missionaries deplore and something which causes considerable anxiety to the officials of the Brazilian Indian Service. For some time there has been an understanding between Catholics, Protestants, and the Brazilian Government that when Protestants go into a new area first the Catholics should stay away from that area. Similarly when the Catholics have opened up a new region in the interior the Protestants should remain away. This rule, however, either was not in effect or was not adhered to in the case of the Terena. At present, of course, the rule would be difficult to enforce among the Terena because the two creeds are well entrenched among the people. The tension between the Protestant and Catholic sects, however, would decrease if the Catholic and Protestant missionaries ceased in their efforts to convert individuals from one creed to the other and accepted the "status quo."

Moreover, the presence of shamanism in the re- 771
ligious life of the Terena cannot be forgotten. As 177
matters now stand there appears to be a threefold
struggle for allegiance between Catholicism, Prot- 756
estantism, and shamanism. Shamanism, as we saw, is no longer pure paganism, having adopted elements of Christianity. The outcome of these differences in belief will, it seems, depend on the nature of the future development of Terena social life. If left to themselves in a Catholic country the Terena may overcome these differences by eventually developing a type of Catholicism with a strong admixture of shamanism.

SECULAR ENTERTAINMENT

DANCES AND GAMES

The important dances of the Terena today are 535
the *kóhi-shoti-kipahé* (called "bate-pay" by Bra- 527
zilians) and the *ohéo'koti.* Although these
dances now reveal Brazilian elements, the Terena [177]
consider them as Terena dances and distinguish them from ordinary Brazilian dances, horse races, foot races, and other forms of secular entertainment in which they participate on saints' days and public holidays.

While they lived in the Chaco, the Terena had
many dances and games which they still remember, [178]

[Chaco Period]

527 526 performed when the occasion demanded and were accompanied by drinking and eating. In addition to these social events, the Terena played a game called *everáni* during the rainy season. Whenever a group of people felt like amusing themselves they would gather leaves from a kind of thistle, known as *vihé*, which they threw over their moiety chief and his family. The chief then took a small clay pot and buried it in the ground before his house, placing a short stake above it. While this was going on the players smeared themselves with mud, and anyone who happened to be near was also smeared with mud and joined the party. The men then went back to the house of the chief, who selected an old but strong man to stand over the pot. The other men arranged themselves around him in a circle in order to defend him and the pot. The men were then approached by a large group of women who tried to break through the circle, dislodge the old man, and capture the pot. The game continued until the women reached and dug up the pot. The game was followed by singing, drinking, and eating.

There were also two other ceremonies which were not connected with the harvest season and were performed at any time of the year: The *láia* and the *kóhi-shoti-kipahé*, or "pate-pau." Both are historically recent. The *láia* is no longer performed.

522 527 536 [177] The *láia*, which was in fact a comic imitation of a European court scene with a king or princess, soldiers, and a fool, was arranged by the moiety chiefs. A temporary house with wooden walls decorated with cotton was built in the village. In the center of the house a wooden bench served as a throne. Usually a woman dressed as a princess, *rinerei*, sat on the throne surrounded by soldiers, *undarú*, dressed in ridiculous uniforms. The central figure of the carnival was the fool ("bobo" in Portuguese) who was selected for his ability to make people laugh. If anyone laughed he was taken prisoner by the soldiers who exacted a fine of food, *poreshoti*, before letting him go. The food was later used in the feast. In order to make the bystanders laugh the "bobo" would drag his feet, go through various contortions, and would address the princess in the most absurd and nonsensical manner. The comic act of the "bobo" continued until enough people laughed to provide food for the feast which followed. The

[Chaco Period]
[Post Chaco Period]

The

European origin of this ceremony is obvious. The "caboclos" of the States of Minas Gerais and São Paulo have a pageant which is Portuguese in origin and which represents a peace ceremony between the Portuguese Christians and the Moors, in which kings, princesses, soldiers, and ambassadors are present. Although the Terena no longer remember the origin of the *láia*, certain similarities enable us to say with some assurance that the Terena have incorporated many of the elements of the "congada" into the *láia*. 522 527 536 [177]

The really important dance of the Terena at present is the *kóhi-shoti-kipahé*, or "bate-pau." Although this dance can be performed at any time, a special performance is put on during "Indian Day," April 19. The dancers are divided into two groups, one being called "mansa" (tame) and the other, "brava" (wild). The members of each side paint their faces and bodies in a special way. The dancers of one side paint the right arm and shoulder red and the left arm and shoulder white, while the dancers of the other side paint one side white and the other black. Thus, although the moiety organization of the Terena has broken down, the "bate-pau" resembles a moiety dance. The names of the two sides (tame and wild) are Portuguese versions of the names of the moieties. The principal differences between the dance organization and the old moiety organization are that individuals can choose the side on which they wish to dance and that the two groups are headed by dance leaders irrespective of their old moiety membership. In addition to body painting, the dancers wear short skirts made from rhea feathers, a rhea feather diadem, and bangles below the knee. 535 527 [302] [616] [187] [292]

The music for the dance is provided by two drummers and one or two flute players who stand in front of the dancers while they are performing circles, or march in front of the dancers when they move from one place to another in two parallel lines, each line being led by its dance leader. Each dancer holds a bamboo cane about 4 or 5 feet long in his right hand and has a short bow strapped to his back. A hole is made in the center of the bow in which a small arrow is placed, one end being fastened to the bow string. The bow is used in one of the sequences to make a rhythmic sound. [533] [534]

The "bate-pau" has to be seen and heard to be appreciated. For a month the dancers practice

[Post Chaco Period]

every night so that every sequence can be executed 535
more or less automatically. The two leaders de- 527
mand strict discipline, reprimand careless dancers, and are careful about the selection of the drummers and flute players. Drinking is forbidden during the practice period.

On the appointed day the dancers meet at dawn in one of the broad streets in the village of Bananal. They form two parallel lines, the dancers standing abreast of one another about 2 feet apart, each line being headed by its dance leader. Facing them are the musicians. When the music starts the leaders guide their respective columns, one turning to the right, the other to the left, but each man in the column must come to the position first held by his leader before he begins making the turn. In this way the two columns form circles, the leaders meeting where the rear men in the columns began, then dancing abreast they come to their original positions. During each of these turns the dancers go through a different sequence. In the first turn one end of the stick rests on the thigh while it is held upright in the hand. This sequence has a characteristic step. In the next the stick is carried like a spear. In the following step the stick is held in the middle and following the leaders each man strikes his stick against that of the man abreast of him—once below, twice above—making a triple clack, clack-clack sound. In one sequence the bow is used instead of the stick. In another the dancers intermingle in small circles, beating their sticks. The dance begins slowly, the tempo increasing as the dance continues. The movements give one the impression of contest between two columns, as if they were going through a mock battle.

After the sequences are completed, the columns separate, each following a drummer and a flute player. They go through the village and dance before each house, receiving coffee or some other beverage from the occupants. The two columns keep dancing until one by one the two leaders lose their followers. The leader who loses all his followers first is the loser. The winning dance leader is then carried on the shoulders of his followers, seated on a stretcher made from the dancing sticks. The chief of the village then provides food and drink for all the dancers.

To an observer the non-Indian characteristics of [177]
the *kóhi-shoti-kipahé*, or "bate-pau," are at once

[P. 50-A]

[Post Chaco Period]

apparent. While it is true that the body paint- 177
ings, the rhea feather skirts and diadems, and 527
the flutes and the bows appear to be of Indian 535
origin, one is nevertheless impressed by the European tempo of the dance rhythm. The drum used [534]
is not the skin-covered pot used in the *chúkuchi*
but a European-type drum suspended in front by a strap around the neck. The manner in which the sticks are used is European in appearance. There is no singing, so common in Indian dances.

When questioned about the "bate-pau," which, literally, means "beat the stick," the Terena say that it is post-Chaco, in other words, that it was danced only after the Terena settled in their present location in Brazil. They say that it was revealed to one of their shamans in a dream, who then taught the Indians how to dance it. Actually the Brazilian origin of the "bate-pau" is as easy to trace as the origin of the *láia*. In Brazil there is a pageant known as the "mozambique" which is danced by the "caboclos." Like the "congada," it is a reenactment of the historic conflict of Christian and Moor in Portugal. The Terena no doubt observed the "mozambique" while they were working together with the Brazilian "caboclos" on the fazendas and adopted it, adding to it their own body paintings and costumes. The opposition between Christian and Moor fitted into the Terena pattern of moiety opposition in ceremonial activities.

In addition to the dance of the shamans and the "bate-pau," the Terena dance modern dances (polka and one-step) which they have learned while working on the fazendas. A dance is generally held on Saturday night, additional dances being held on saints' days and political holidays.
The music is provided by a violinist and an accordion player, the tunes being Paraguayan and [533]
Bolivian in origin. The typical Brazilian samba has not diffused this far west as yet.

Usually a man invites people to a dance at 535
his house and arranges for the music. About 7 527
or 8 o'clock in the evening the young people wander slowly to the place where the dance will be held, the girls and young men going in separate groups, only married couples going together with their children. The owner of the house places benches outside his house on which the girls sit. A little to one side sit the musicians. Older people squat on the ground, the women hold-

[P. 50-B]

[POST Chaco Period]

ing their children in their arms. The only light is 535
a lantern or two in the house. The young men 527
stand around in small groups and when the music
starts they rush for their partners. After the
dance is over they leave their partners without
escorting them to their seats. While the dance is
in progress men and boys sit on the grass just
outside the dance circle and play cards and other
games. Usually there are a few intoxicated men
who provide a certain amount of comic relief.
Quarreling and fighting are not common during [578]
dances. Generally the dance is over by midnight.

FOOTBALL

The Terena say that football (soccer) was first 526
introduced into Bananal in 1933 from Taunay, the
nearest Brazilian settlement. The first captain [177]
was Eleuterio. For one reason or another interest declined until 1941 when Leão and Bertolino formed a football club. The manager of the Post is a football enthusiast and assists the Terena in organizing games. There are, today, three football teams in Bananal—two leading teams and a third practice team. Players are selected by Bertolino and Leão, and anyone who is able to play or is not a personal enemy of the two captains can enter the teams. One team, however, is predominantly Protestant while the other is predominantly Catholic. The manager of the Post favors the Catholic team. The members of the No. 1 team wear green-and-red-colored shirts and have a black and white flag. Two football teams also exist in the neighboring Terena village of Cachoeirinha.

Each player has to buy his own shirt which costs from 6 to 7 dollars. The wife of the manager of the Post presented each player with a pair of shorts and gave each team its flag. The captains bought three footballs for about 1 dollar each. About half of the players prefer to play barefoot, the others using cheap shoes costing about a dollar a pair. There is a football field located near the Catholic church in Bananal where the teams practice in the evenings and and where matches are played against the neighboring teams.

From observation it can be said that the Terena are comparatively good players, for they win about as many games against the Brazilians as they lose.

[p. 51-A]

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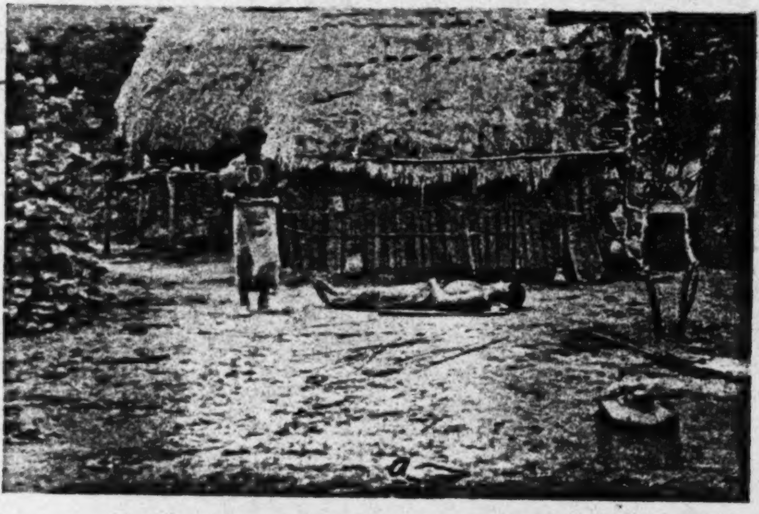

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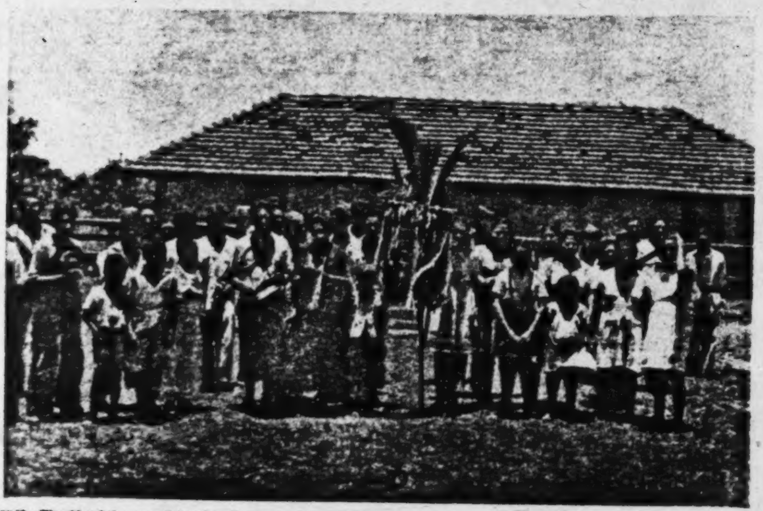

PLATE 10.—The old and the new religion of the Terena. a, Shaman dancing around sick man. b, St. Sebastian Day procession with decorated banner

[End plate 10]

[P. 82]

3: Oliveira SK7 Guana SK7

● 177

[For information on the assimilation of the Terena into Brazilian or neo-Brazilian urban culture, see category 116, pp. 181-182, 184-186, 188-209, 211-219.]

/9/

Preface

101 In the area of scattered thickets and gallery forests /matas
133 de beira-rio/ of southern Mato Grosso there lives one of the
197 largest native groups in Brazil, the Terêna, of the Guaná fami-
161 ly and Aruak language. They number some 5,000 individuals,
a very high figure for a Brazilian tribe, since most of them do
not add up to a tenth of this.

463 Travelers on the Estrada de Ferro Noroeste do Brasil
[496] /Northwest Brazil Railroad/ that crosses the region can see them
hoe in hand working on farm plots, on horseback tending the
cattle of some fazendeiro, in the maintenance gangs of the
railroad itself, or, more rarely, selling carandá palm fans at
the stations.

177 It is difficult to identify them as Indians, since they dress,
wear their hair, work, and live like the poor inlanders
142 /sertanejos/ of the region. One or another of them will present
191 a revealing Mongolian fold or the black, straight, stiff hair
characteristic of the Indian and nearly all of them speak Portu-
162 guese with an odd accent. Yet even these traits fail to attract
171 much attention in a region where there are numerous Paraguayans
and Bolivians with similar characteristics.

619 In order to find out whether they are natives, it is necessary
to talk to them or listen to the local people, who are always
prepared to identify them and to point out numerous negative
peculiarities which, in their eyes, make them different and
set them apart.

121 Indians of this sort, so little native, are not of interest
177 to the classical ethnologist, who is interested precisely in those
untouched groups that best preserve the peculiarities of their
[114] traditional culture. For this very reason they have been the
subject of very few studies. Yet they present as much, if not
more interest than isolated tribes, because only their /10/
study will lead us to a better understanding of the process where-
by tribal peoples are integrated into national societies and of

/10 cont./

121 177 how and why, as in the case of the Terêna, they resist merging
into the regional population.

121 Studies of groups in an advanced stage of integration are
also recommended for the contribution they can make to the
handling of problems involving the survival of tribal populations.
[114] For this very reason, the Secção de Estudos of the Serviço de
[122] Proteção aos Índios and the Museu de Índio operated by it,
while we worked there with Eduardo Galvão and Roberto Cardoso
de Oliveira, was devoted chiefly to this type of study. The
present work is the fruit of this orientation and gives a measure
of the contribution that ethnology can make in the formulation
and execution of a scientifically oriented native policy that
could open new and better living perspectives to the native
populations of Brazil.

121 The theme of this study is an analysis of the explicative
177 possibilities of this rare Brazilian instance of a tribe which
619 traveled practically the full road of acculturation while retaining
a considerable populational rise, reached a high degree of
participation in regional life, but in spite of this remains
differentiated, identifying itself and being identified as native.

121 The explicative value of the Terêna case is all the
177 greater because the Terêna are divided into various subgroups
101 that present several variants of the general conditions of interaction
of tribal groups with the national society. While some
of the subgroups enjoyed a certain state of isolation and relative
autonomy, others were compelled to live next to tribes
that spoke different languages and also had different cultures,
or even impelled to settle for the condition of tenant farmers
[648] or colonos on private fazendas. Official aid on the part of the
[797] Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, as well as the activities of
missionaries, Protestant and Catholic, also operated in different
degrees of intensity and continuity and in various ways from
group to group, giving rise to variants of great explicative
121 interest. Thus, their study showed in what way the various
177 forces of compulsion that affected the process of the integration

/10 cont./

121 of the Terêna into the regional society acted on the uniform
177 base represented by the tribal culture.

114 Roberto Cardoso de Oliveira did not have an easy job,
121 because /11/ there are not many studies of this type to serve
177 as precedents and, also, because these Indians have lived for two centuries in such close connection with the regional society that they have undergone all the vicissitudes of the latter's formation and settlement in the region, and they naturally present, in their way of life, many characteristics that can only be explained by the specific experiences that befell them by virtue of this connection. In these circumstances, contrary to traditional ethnological study, which does not deal with historical analysis, the author here had to cope with the task of reconstituting the living process whereby the Terêna Indians got to be what they now are, so as to distinguish what is due to tribal culture from what is due to contact situations in their process of integration into the national society.

121 In his study we follow the various Guaná groups, including
177 the Terêna, as they leave the maze of the Chaco tribes, deeply
[701] influenced by them, especially by their suzerains, the Mbayá-Guaikuru, but retaining many characteristics of the ancient Aruak, such as devotion to agriculture, which years of coexistence with peoples of rudimentary economy did not diminish.

[648] Next we watch them free themselves from Mbaya suzerainty, only to fall into a much more oppressive subordination to the neo-Brazilians who were settling in the region in the
[464] early years of the 19th century. Since then they have partici-
[162] pated ever more actively in the life of the national society, as the labor force that built nearly all that has been achieved in the region and as the chief native matrix in the population of southern Mato Grosso.

177 This role was played chiefly by the Terêna woman.
562 Taken as wife or mistress by the first settlers, she gave them
563 children who, in the majority of cases, identified to such an extent with the white father that they forgot their tribal origin.

/11 cont./

177 But we have heard of exceptions, and among these we may in-
562 clude Marechal Rondon, who had a Terêna grandmother;
563 Ricardo Franco de Almeida Serra, as comandante-geral of the Paraguayan border, lived for several years at Forte Coimbra with an Indian woman, very probably a Terêna, by whom he had children; and also, Visconde de Taunay, whose posthumously published memoirs tell how some of the best days of his life were those he spent at the time of the Paraguayan campaigns, with a Terêna Indian woman.

177 Through the last 150 years of interaction with our society,
619 /12/ the various Guaná groups melted together, and in our day there remains only one, the Terêna, who have come to gather all survivors of the tribe. Today they live as *aldea* Indians, fazenda Indians, city Indians, integrated into regional life as farm workers, as urban workers, sometimes as army reserve men, and even as voters. Ever less Indian. Ever more Brazilianized and, as such, at grips with the same social problems that confront the rural masses and the poorest urban populations of Mato Grosso. Yet differentiated from the average inlander and the common townsman through facing specific problems of adjustment that arise chiefly from the consciousness of a common tribal origin, from the loyalties that unite them, and from the awareness, perpetually sharpened by the regional population, that they are different.

114 I have devoted myself for several years to the study of
121 the process of acculturation of the native populations of Brazil and of the role played by the native matrices in the formation of our people. For this reason I followed with the greatest interest the research of Roberto Cardoso de Oliveira, and I was honored by the invitation to write the preface to his work. I do so with two-fold pleasure, first, in presenting an ethnologist who combines mastery and love of theory with an uncommon ability for direct observation in field research; secondly, because his book represents a significant contribution to one of the basic themes in Brazilian ethnology and is destined to

Guarani SM4
Mbaya SK11

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161 /20 cont./

4. The last estimates of the S. P. I. gives the Kaiwá with about 2,500 individuals and the Kadiwéu with barely 200, whereas the Terêna population has been increasing steadily and now numbers approximately 4,000 individuals. (Taking into account here only the Indians living in aldeas on native reserves.)

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[162]

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[463]

It should also be added that this group has a certain importance on the regional labor market, where its members exercise the most varied productive activities, from the extraction of the bark of the angico--which they do with great skill--to herding and, chiefly, farming.

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● [172]

This demographic density, along with the demonstrated ability to adjust to the most diverse socio-cultural situations, confers on the Terêna the role of rural laborers par excellence, which has assured them a place in the regional economic structure.

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[101]

The Terêna thus represent one of the Guaná or Txané subgroups which, along with other tribes of this large Aruák group, appear as those Indians who contributed most to the formation of the Brazilian Southwest, both as producers of goods for the consumption of the first Portuguese and neo-Brazilian occupants of the region and as industrious manual labor on the fazendas that began to proliferate after the Paraguayan war, not to overlook the role they played in that conflict, when they were led to fight the Paraguayan army.

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114
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Located in an area which has for some time been integrated into the national economy and which has for centuries been contended for by the Spanish and the Portuguese, the Paraguayans and the Brazilians, it is natural that the

/20 cont./
114 documentation on the experiences that the Guaná groups under-
177 went in contact with European civilization should meet the re-
quirements that might arise from a historiographic inquiry into
114 the relations between Indians and "whites." On the other hand,
as far as information of an ethnographic character are concerned,
we must admit the scarcity of the data, much less rich than
125 that concerning the Guaikurú groups. In spite of the fact that
the 18th-century bibliography on the Chaco groups, for example,
is regarded as being most satisfactory, to the point where
Alfred Metraux states that "the 18th century is the golden
age of ethnological literature on the Chaco" (5), we do not find, in relation to the Guaná, any work of the rank of a Dobrizhoffer or even a /21/ Labrador. This latter chronicler does give us a very good description of the Guaná, but--if we compared it with the section of his book, O Paraguai Católico /Catholic Paraguay/ that concerns the Mbayá-Guaikurú--we shall conclude that it is far inferior to the magnificent pages dedicated to the famous Indian horsemen. /Map 1 appears here./

But let us take the Terêna specifically. We shall see that the bibliography regarding them only begins with Castelnau, in 1844-45, and thus in the middle of the last century. We find brief references in the /22/ 18th century in Sanches Labrador, Azara, and Aguirre, which are nothing more than mere indications of location and population estimates. In the 16th and 17th centuries they are not even mentioned. The Cartas Anuas /Annual Letters/, for example, which are so rich in information on the many Chaco groups, tell us almost nothing about the circumstances of the Terêna in the 17th century. And Schmidel and Cabeça de Vaca, who went through the Paraguayan Chaco respectively in 1535-36 and 1543, limit themselves to a few brief remarks on the Guaná,

[Text continues on p. 16]

5. 1946:206.

/22 cont./

175 of minor importance except of course for the former's famous statement, when he compared Guaná-Guaikurú relations to the state of subordination prevailing at the time in his own country between feudal lords and peasants.

[131] The 19th-century bibliography, even prior to Castelnau, becomes far more useful for the study of the Terêna, since it reveals the presence of Guaná groups in the region now centered on the city of Miranda, the present area of the greatest concentration of Terêna local groups. 175 177 From the information left us by Almeida Serra (1803), Hercules Florence (1825-29), and indirectly by Alincourt (1828), we can form a good idea of the interethnic and tribal contacts in that area and of the relative isolation of the Terêna population. And this lack of data on the Terêna, at the time, is explained by Castelnau's statement (1845), according to which, up to that time, those Indians had maintained "very few relations with the whites." And he adds: "They are a warrior people who retain in their entirety the customs of their ancestors." (6)

175 From Castelnau on the bibliography is more satisfactory, and none of the chroniclers fails to supply--although in varying degrees--data on the Terêna. From Elliot (1844), through Leverger (1847), Francisco Lopes (1848-49), Alves Ferreira (1846-50), up to Taunay (1863-64) and Bach (1896), all of them--and especially the last two--are lavish with information of great interest to the study of contact situations between the Terêna and the national society, even though, let it be said in passing, only Bach and in second place Taunay provide ethnographically relevant material. In a strict sense, in the

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6. 1949, II:301. (The dates in parentheses refer to the time when the travelers were near the groups mentioned and not to the dates of publication of their works.)

/23 cont./
114 Baldus (1934) gives us an article on "A Successão Hereditária do
Chefe entre os Terêno /Hereditary Succession to the Chieftain-
ship among the Terêna/," worked out on the basis of the state-
ments made by the "Captain" of Moreira aldea, close to
[829] Miranda; this same ethnologist was to give us another work,
the fruit of his stay in Araribá aldea, in the state of São Paulo
(1947), on the mythology of those Indians, which at the time
had already been transformed into a body of legends, for it
had ceased to be the object of belief on the part of the com-
munity. Finally, the Terêna were visited by Oberg and
Altenfelder (1946-47), ethnologists who provided us with two
detailed works on the Bananal local group, even though they
tend to generalize their conclusions to the Terêna population
in general. (8)

8. Altenfelder, in spite of generalizing from his study of cultural change to the Terêna as a whole, is perfectly aware of the problem (of the representativeness of the group studied) when he suggests in his article "a comparative study among the various communities of Terêna Indians, each of them subjected to different physical and social conditions." (1949:377.)

121 /24/ The study that we are now making of these Indians
pinpoints them as tribal components of an area occupied by
our society for centuries, where various waves of settlers arrived
121 successively in the course of the last 300 years. And among
177 those problems that spur us most strongly to research--and that
178 are the objects of this work--there figure those relating to the
process of pioneering, conquest, and implantation of national

/24 cont./

/121/ 177 178 elements in the region of the Terêna, and their consequences for that indigenous group, as well as to the questions raised by an analysis of the interethnic and intertribal acculturation process, namely: Why do the Terêna, in spite of long, continuous, and systematic contact with neo-Brazilian population nuclei, still remain Indians, even after their integration into the regional economic structure? What mechanisms cancelled the ways to acculturation? How far is this true of the Terêna population as a whole? And we might also add--although here we shall refer to it only in passing--, what factors led the other Guaná groups to extinction, while only the Terêna survived?

/101/ Let us begin, thus, with a brief note on the Guaná groups and the place occupied among them by the Terêna subtribe. According to Metraux the southernmost groups, representative of Aruák culture, were divided into two branches, "whose history and culture developed along different lines: the name 'Chané' will be used for the western subtribes, along the Andes, and 'Guaná' for the subtribes of the Paraguay basin." (9) The former occupied the northwestern fringe of the Chaco, while the latter occupied the northeastern region, practically delimiting,
[131] in an extensive semicircle, the Chaco culture area. It is precisely the latter who demand our attention, in view of their later move to the eastern lands of the Paraguay River.

Meanwhile, the names Guaná, Txané, and some of the designations applied to the Aruák subtribes, of the Paraguay basin, demand some further explanation so that we shall be better prepared for the identification of the groups referred to by the chroniclers and for the clarification of the places they
/101/ occupied in Brazilian territory. Sanches Labrador testifies that
175 "in various parts of Catholic Paraguay mention has been made of the nation, /25/ commonly known by the name of Guanás. They call themselves Chanás, a name that covers all

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9. 1946(a):238-39.

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Guaikurú cacique--RCO). The latter, to gain the Guaná's /good/will, married a woman cacique of theirs...."(47)

47. 1910, I:25.

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Aside from the Exoaladi, there is information on another Guaná group that had joined with the Mbayá-Guaikurú. They were the Kinikináu, across from a branch or local group: "The tribe of the Equiniquinao...is divided: one part lives in the Chaco, close to 21° 56' latitude, eight leagues from the Paraguay River; the rest are /36/ incorporated into the Mbayá."(48)

48. Azara, 1809, II:87; cf. 1943:132-133.

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In this respect it must be noted that the interaction between the Guaikurú and these Kinikináu was such as to lead a chronicler of the end of the last century, João Severiano da Fonseca, to make a mistake, when he recorded a series of words of the Mbayá language, certain that he was taking down Kinikináu nouns!(49) This shows the intensity of the process

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49. Cf. João Severiano da Fonseca, 1880; I:305-311. In this book the author regards the Kinikináu as belonging to a branch of the Guaikurú and compares their vocabulary with a list of Layâna words. The chronicler did not realize that he had taken as informants Kinikináu individuals who spoke the Mbayá language as their own. He writes at a certain point that "the Quiniquinaus are also known as Guaycurus, a name that plainly reveals their origin!"

000 /36 cont./

are also known as Guaycurys,
a name that plainly reveals
their origin."

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This shows the intensity of the process
175 of intertribal acculturation, which determines the prevalence
648 of the Mbayá language throughout the area of Guaikurú in-
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197 fluence. In this acculturation area the same process seems to
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175 be at work as occurred in other areas, such as those of Tupi
● 177 or Tucano influence--to cite two of the most representative
M of this socio-cultural phenomenon--where it was known as a
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[172] process of Tupinization or Tucanization, respectively.

G It so happens, however, that the Guaná-Guaikurú inter-
M tribal relations did not always proceed in the same fashion or
175 develop along the same lines. There were times when some
648 Guaná groups had serious conflicts with the Mbayá-Guaikurú.
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721 According to Almeida Serra, "the Uaicurus, ever wanderers, and
[181] ever atrociously warlike, trusting in their horses, and aware of
G their full power and superiority over the other nations that did
[712] not have them, kept scourging the Guanás in a war of daily
ambushes, and untimely attacks, not on their aldeas, which
are always surrounded with palisades, but rather by devastating
their plantings, and awaiting them in their plots, or on their
way to and from them; or in the open, killing and capturing
G those they caught unaware, and in smaller numbers. These
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175 injuries and damages obliged the Guaná to ask for peace and to
728 allow themselves to be called their captives, giving them
voluntarily part of their crops, to save the rest, and the deaths
they suffered each year."(50) And thus, the Guaná, "in spite

50. 1845:208.

of having a larger number of men than the Uaicurús, found
themselves compelled, for their own preservation, to purchase
peace and the friendship of their oppressors."(51)

51. Ibidem.

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very probable--we regard those Guaná as an Exoaladi or Layâna subgroup, and not the whole of the Guaná tribes, we would have to agree that undoubtedly this was one of the forms that the association between the two groups assumed. And, on the other hand, the sources consulted do not permit the unequivocal selection of any one of the hypotheses propounded here as to the cause of this peculiar submission of a sedentary, agricultural group to a nomadic, hunting, and gathering one. Rather than being mutually exclusive, we believe that these /hypotheses/ reflect different aspects of the same process of ecological competition /38/ and tribal interaction: explanations based on (i) marriages of caciques, or (ii) Guaikurú attack on members of Guaná local groups, or yet (iii) the control of paths of communication with other population groups that were necessary to Guaná trade, all these events already analyzed above are facts that express the vicissitudes experienced by the Guaná in their effort to adjust to an adverse conjuncture.

It is well to conclude this chapter--in which we try to characterize the process of Guaikurú-Guaná intertribal interaction--with this impression of Alexandre Rodrigues Ferreira, when he met those groups at the close of the 18th century: "There is little difference between (the Guaná--RCO) and the Guaikurús, whose neighbors, friends, and allies they are. They intermarry and render reciprocal assistance, whenever required by some general or private need."(53) Thus this close inter-

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53. 1791:4.

action--which we might classify as symbiotic(54)--to some

54. "Relations are symbiotic
if the agents view each other
largely from the stand point
of their usefulness, with a
minimum concern for fair play

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> and adherence to norms."
> E. T. Hiller, 1947:151.
> /Cited in English./

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extent may be generalized to the Guaná as a whole, characterizing an entire period in which relations between representative parts of both groups assumed systematic and continuous forms, which resulted in a process of intertribal acculturation, which must be taken into account if we are to understand Terêna (Guaná) traditional culture.

/39/ III. Profile of the Traditional Culture

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Our purpose in this chapter is to give a brief outline of the traditional Terêna-Guaná culture, in order to convey a better understanding of the relations which took place between those Indians and the Euro-American society in the process of settling in southern Mato Grosso. The difficulties that the historical reconstruction presents have already been mentioned in the preceding chapters. A few words should still be added regarding the criterion adopted in the selection of the cultural complexes analyzed.

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Realizing it would be impossible to provide a picture, no matter how simple, of the total culture of those tribal groups, we decided to select the aspects of the traditional culture that were of greatest interest to the chroniclers and are thus better documented in the available bibliography.(55) Those /aspects/ that

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55. Our field experiences will serve, in this chapter, merely as auxiliary data, for the "tribal memory," although actively stimulated by us, proved very poor of little or

/43 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

121 result in a condition of dependency." (Max Schmidt, 1917, Ch. III.)

177 178 565 This ethnic stratification must have been succeeded by a social stratification, which seems to have resulted from contact with Chaco groups, especially the Mbayá-Guaikurú. No matter what its origin may have been, the fact is that this social stratification became an element of dynamization of the original structure.

[648] We can raise the hypothesis that as a result of the symbiotic character of Guaná-Mbayá relations, the relatives of the Guaná caciques may have endeavored to adopt the behavior patterns of their Mbayá-Guaikurú allies, because these patterns
177 178 565 461 were expressions of a higher "status." The Mbayá-Guaikurú not being tillers of the soil--but rather gatherers and hunters and, lately, herders--, they left to their captives the agricultural work which contributed to the stigmatization of farm work, the foundation on which Guaná society rested. And let it be said that this stigmatization is fully documented in the
178 565 462 [171] chronicle on those Indians. Furthermore, our hypothesis seems to be confirmed by the existence of certain modalities of conduct that live on in the Terêna communities of a more archaic character. In Cachoeirinha, for example, we observed that the women from traditional families, i.e., those remaining from the old local group, do not approve of women working on the land, a fact which is "sui generis" since it is regarded as a commonplace in Aruák cultures that the woman should assist the man in agricultural work: on him devolve the felling of the forest and clearing of the land, and on her the /44/ planting, upkeep, and harvest. (67) The division of labor

171 462 177 67. Among the western Txané who live in a symbiotic relationship with the Xiriguano, also an agricultural (Tupi) people, the

/44 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

171 division of labor between the
462 sexes seems to have kept its
177 traditional character, showing
that there has been a change in
the system of production and
labor of the Guaná owing to the
process of acculturation with the
Mbayá-Guaikurú. Consult
Erland Nordenskiold (1912:159)
who gives a table showing the
division of labor between men
and women among the Txané
and Xiriguano.

462 773 The division of labor among the Guaná, which besides is rationalized and legalized in the myth of the two civilizing twin heroes, would seem to have been somewhat different. In this respect Altenfelder comments that "the division of labor seems to be justified in the creation myth, in which Yurikoyuvakai, the twin heroes, give to men the implements of agricultural labor and the
462 weapons of war, and to women the spindle. The clearing of land plots and the cultivation of the land were masculine tasks. Warfare, hunting, fishing, and basket-weaving also fell to the men. The women's tasks were spinning, pottery-making, and household chores. The harvest was gathered by both
[177] sexes." (68) It is certain that these patterns were strongly disturbed and tend to disappear in the acculturation process through which the Terêna groups are passing and of their inte-
177 gration into the regional socio-economic structure. But the
178 existence of such patterns shows that at a certain moment in
648 462 565 the history of their relations with the Mbayá-Guaikurú, probably

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68. 1949:294-295.

/44 cont. [Traditional Culture]

177 178 648 462 565 during the period when the "second form of symbiosis" (69) was established, the relatives of the Guaná caciques, influenced by their allies, came to stigmatize agricultural work, taking their women (and perhaps certain masculine categories) from work on the land. (70)

69. Baldus points out two forms or two typical moments in the Guaykurú-Guaná symbiosis: the first refers to the Chaco period, before contact with westerners, when the Guaná and the Kaskihá (Maskoi), together and often mistaken by the whites for a single people, were tributaries of the Guaykuru; the second refers to the moment when farming was introduced among the Guaykuru, when relations between them were much more in the nature of a political and economic alliance--this from the second half of the 18th century. (Cf. 1945:24-27.)

[175] [128] 70. The chroniclers say nothing about this. And our hypothesis, although it can only be checked against the remaining Terêna, may be regarded, in all probability, as one of the most significant variations of the Guaná associative system. The special emphasis on

[Traditional Culture]

177 178 482 562 565 171 [591] [596] /44 cont./ The special emphasis on removing women from farm work is explained, on the one hand, by the important role they played in Guaná culture, which was organized basically around matrilocal extended families, despite the fact that the Terêna today, are bilocal; on the other hand, by the attempt to parallel Guaykuru women, who "throughout the period of their marriage enjoy the position of ladies.... It reverted to the husband's care to provide the game and other provisions to feed the family." (Labrador, 1910; II:26.)

178 555 565 [721] [631] /45/ The dynamization of Guaná social structure can be attributed to vertical mobility, which, if it did not begin as a result of relations with the Mbayá-Guaykurú, must have become intensified after the Guaná stepped up the taking of captives in an attempt to keep up with their allies. In this manner the Guaná, as they became stratified in such a way as to guarantee to the chieftainship and leadership of the group a single stratum, that of the *Naati*, which consisted, as we have seen, of the relatives of the caciques, set up a clever compensation mechanism. This stratum, endogamous like the others, became accessible to *heroes*, who rose to it by means of their deeds. Such a possibility of social ascension was not /Figure 1 appears here/ limited, however, to the *Waherê-Txané*; it was also granted to the *Kauti*, or captives, who adapted to the same mechanism of *status* change, i.e., the elevation of the individual to the next higher stratum.

/49 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

616 It cannot be stated with Rattray-Hay's certainty, in his
535 passage cited above, that the old ceremonial division between
178 Xumonó and Sukirikionó still regulated strictly secular festivals
such as the "bate-pau dance" or the "race of the little horses."
We were able to ascertain in Cachoeirinha that for the composition
of the "Harará-iti" and "Hononó-iti" groups the Xumonó
and Sukirikionó distinctions were not respected. This means
that, if these moieties functioned in the regulation of the
Kohixoti-kipahé in Rattray-Hay's time and in Bananal, nowadays
in Cachoeirinha, Ipegue, and Bananal itself (aldeas that
still organize these dances with some regularity) the moieties
no longer regulate either the playful or ceremonial activities.
[177] Today they are reduced to a mere tradition, which is understandable
[162] in view of the fact that it would have been impossible
for them to retain their original function /50/ (regulation
of marriage) or even those that followed (ceremonial and playful),
as the old social structure gradually broke down through the
process of acculturation, which intensified with the rise of neo-Brazilian
nuclei in the vicinities of the aldeas.

593 Still on the subject of social structure, other aspects are
deserving of notice. The first refers to the emphasis laid by
the tribe on the solidarity of the group of brothers and sisters,
in accordance with the principle of the unity of the "sibling"
601 group, formulated by Radcliffe-Brown. (78) If we analyze
the kinship terminology of the Terêna, for example, we find
that the terms used for brothers (sisters)--whether Ego is male
or female--are applicable to both parallel and cross cousins.
601 This would lead to the impossibility of marriage within the
582 "sibling" group, i.e., among consanguineal relatives in Ego's
generation, which constitutes an additional marriage-regulation
[178] technique aside from the moieties and strata. This, incidentally,
permits us to classify the Guaná-Terêna kinship system as

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78. Cf. 1952:64-67.

/52 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

796 of the present-day Terêna. As we shall see in Chapter VII, in
182 spite of the /53/ socio-cultural variations we shall find among
619 the Terêna population (Chap. VI), the power of attraction of
571 these ceremonies is such that it leads to the withdrawal of the
Terêna population from all labor, whether on the fazendas, in
the towns or cities of the region, or even in their own aldeas
that promote the festivals, where their activities are limited to
those preparations.

771 For now, it is sufficient if we accept the idea that tra-
171 ditional Terêna-Guaná religious behavior is characterized, in
its basic lines, by its compliance to a pattern peculiar to the
171 Chaco culture area. (90) Incidentally, this is not limited to
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171 religion, but may be extended to mythology. In this respect,
773 Baldus comments that the Terêna mythological complex, to-
[178] day changed into a body of legends, clearly proves its Chaco
[114] origin, and he also points out as significant the fact that the
Handbook of South American Indians includes that group in
the Chaco tribes. (91)

90. "The cerimonial life of the "Tereno" and probably of all "Guaná" also was particularly intense when the new year began. It is difficult to ascertain wheter these Indians adopted the "Mbya" rites and added a few traditional elements of their own, or whether cerimonies already present in their own earlier culture corresponded to the Pleiades feast of the "Mbaya" (Metraux, 1946:357). /Cited in English./

91. 1950:217.

/55 cont./

773 not in a position to formulate, even though in the conversations
616 we had with some Terêna informants in this respect, we were
left with the impression that the Sukirikionó were regarded as
● [172] slightly superior to the Xumonó. This, however, seems to be
a projection of the roles played by both moieties in the festivities
related to the Oheokoti, and re-evaluated by the
"cathechized" Terêna in the light of Christian morality, in
terms of a "good" and a "bad" moiety.

773 Still other myths, and several versions, could be analyzed
114 in this work, thanks to the relatively good and recent bibliography
available and to the material we gathered in the field.
128 However, we believe that we would be departing from the
purposes of this chapter, which is to provide an outline or a
simple characterization of the traditional culture, by which
we mean the one that prevailed in Chaco times. We shall be
content if we succeeded in this chapter in providing the reader
with an accurate though summary idea of the culture of the
ancient Terêna-Guaná, which will make it possible for him to
understand the changes undergone by a tribal population in
contact with an expanding and technically superior society.
/Two plates appear here./ /Page 56 is blank./

Historical Brazil SL2
Historical Paraguay SK2

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offer.(104) As we shall see further on, more than the war itself,

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104. "Exhausted by the effort spent, which was tremendous, and wasted by the consequences of a struggle in which it had been totally involved, Paraguay was to begin the infiltration of their elements into the western lands. Everything contributed to this end. These belonged to them in their own eyes. They had ranged over them in the past. They were familiar with them. The separation by the boundaries, definitively established, along the Maracaju range and the waters of the Apa, as a continuation of those of the Paraguay, was not a serious hindrance." (Ibid.) And the author writes farther on: "Quebracho, maté, and livestock were the three propelling spurs to the human expansion in southern Mato Grosso, an expansion directed from Paraguay." (Idem., p. 106.) Moreover, it is the existence of this infiltration that will enable us to understand the great Paraguayan influence on the regional indigenous and neo-Brazilian customs.

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it was this second human /61/ wave which, as its consequence, was to adjust to the Guaná groups and, especially, the Terêna,

Historical Brazil / S22

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175 Mato Grosso, it is no less true to say that the NOB fostered the
167 rise of a new human wave whose characteristic continuity and
496 stability brought to Mato Grosso the seeds of a progress that
G we are still witnessing. The economic and demographic in-
[177] crease brought to Mato Grosso by the NOB changed the regional urban landscape, stimulated the creation of new population nuclei--which were being born along the railroad--, and thus imprinted a special character upon the indigenous configuration in that extensive area of southern Brazil. (107)

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107. "However, if in Mato Grosso the railroad did not determine the metamorphosis produced in the São Paulo zone, it did have an influence on the growth and transformation of towns and cities in the interior, along the railroad, such as Três Lagôas (with 5,154 inhabitants in 1940), Cámpo Grande, the traditional cattle-trading center of southern Mato Grosso (already with 23,054 inhabitants in 1940), Aquidauana (with 5,773), and others even beyond the end of the tracks, served by river navigation, such as Corumbá (13,319 inhabitants in 1940), which prospered with the introduction of the new means of transportation, leading to the decline of small urban centers in favor of the larger agglomerations along the railroad line. To get an

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idea of the impetus given in a quarter century, from 1914 to 1940, to the settlement of these regions, it will be sufficient to note that the population of the four municípios of Três Lagoas (15,378 inhabitants), Campo Grande (49,629), Aquidauana (20,949), and Miranda (14,126) climbed during this period to more than 100,000 inhabitants, or more than five times the population estimated before the construction of the railroad." (Fernando de Azevedo, 1950:131-132.)

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/62/ The importance of these nuclei to the Terêna population (108) cannot be over-emphasized: these neo-Brazilian settlements became most potent foci of attraction to the Terêna and, thus, began to act more intensely as agencies of culture change. In this sense, the relations between Miranda and Cachoeirinha, Passarinho, Moreira, and Lalima aldeas (especially the last)

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108. Of the Guaná groups, aside from the Terêna, who survived, as a group, up to the first decade of this century, there were the Kinikináu, who up to 1908 had an aldea by the Agaxi River. In 1925 there were no more than 15 individuals there, detribalized and about to move to Lalima.

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175 are very instructive, as are those between Aquidauana and the
177 Terêna communities of Limão Verde and Aldeinha. In the
[361] following chapters we shall see in more detail the influence of
[128] these cities[2] on the way of life of the members of those indigenous
communities. For now, let us go on to analyze--on the basis
of the chroniclers--the nature of the contacts that were established
between these waves of penetration from our society
and the regional Terêna population.

175 Strictly speaking, the first references we have on the
177 Terêna are provided by Sanches Labrador, who tells us that they
797 had already, at that time (mid-18th century), received in their
aldeas a Jesuit padre. (109) Up to this time, they were the most
isolated of the Guaná groups.

> [162] 109. "In the Chanás settlement
> I found two men who were with
> their wives and children, all
> Terênas and brothers of the
> Chanás. I noted the language
> of their nation. I asked them
> if they knew of any Christians
> close to their lands, or if
> they had come to them? They
> answered yes ... and that in
> times past they had been close
> to their land: and pointing to
> the Guaranís who were present,
> they added: they were dressed
> like these, and with necklaces
> (rosaries) like those around the
> [101] neck. This must have occurred
> when the Venerable Padre
> Castanhares with the Zamuco
> Indians came close to the settlement
> of the Terênas, or, as
> they call themselves, Telenoé."
> (1910, II:274-75.)

[2] [i.e. the neo-Brazilian cities of Miranda and Aquidauana --Analyst]

/62 cont./

175 isolated of the Guaná groups. According to Azara--who got
●177 information on them in the same century--the Terêna were
797 represented by two groups, one still living in the Chaco, near
131 the Kinikináu, the other "east of the Paraguay River, below the
[162] 21° parallel, on a chain of small mountains that they called
'Echatiyá,' and east of another called 'Nogoná'." (110) Nevertheless, we cannot know which of these groups had received the missionary or whether, at the time referred to by the Terêna informants (cf. note 109) all of them were still in the Chaco--
175 which seems to be more probable. Still in the 18th century--
177 at its close--there is some information /63/ we owe to Alexandre
797 Rodrigues Ferreira according to which a Guaná aldea had been
visited by a religious; (111) the local group referred to as having

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110. 1809, II:87.

111. Rodrigues Ferreira relates that Padre João Joseph Gomes da Costa, with an escort of 45 soldiers, "left on 13 February last (1791), and having traveled downriver for two and a half days, disembarked at a port on the east bank of the (Paraguay) river, where he mounted a horse and proceeded inland for about a quarter of a league, and there found the first quarters. From these he went eight leagues to the east, the second one, which was called "of the Guimarães." Five leagues further on in the same direction, he reached the third, which was of the Guaicurus." (Ms., sheets 3 and 4.)

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175 been visited could hardly have been Terêna, but was in all
177 probability an "Echoaladi" or "Echoarana" subgroup. To judge
797 by the 18th-century chronicles, the contact of the Terêna with
[184] Catholic missionaries was almost nil, and of very little consequence for the tribal culture, unlike other Guaná groups (like the Layâna and Exoaladi) quite frequently referred to by Labrador and Azara. But, even in the following century, the data left by the chroniclers regarding missionary work among the Terêna do not show that religious proselytism was intensified: referring generically to the Guaná in the middle of the century, Joaquim Alves Ferreira says that these Indians were "in the state of recovering from their intellectual and religious education" (112) and suggests that it would be very desirable--for a policy of national integration of these groups--"if missionaries were to go and reside among them"; (113) 20 years later, Visconde de Taunay, living among the Guaná Indians of the Miranda region, wrote that these Indians lived in the "greatest ignorance and indifference as far as religion is concerned." (114)

These depositions serve to show that if the other Guaná groups had not received effective catechizing, the Terêna--frequently

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112. 1905:83.

113. 1905:92.

114. 1931:21; "The catechizing is still lagging and has been poorly directed. Few Kinikinâus know the significance of the cross and only some Guanás recite our prayers." (Ibid.)

/63 cont./

175 177 neglected by the 18th- and 19th-century chroniclers--were [797] much less likely to have undergone more efficient proselytism.

Taunay himself gives us a rather precious bit of information [622] on the Terêna. He says, commenting on the role of the [184] caciques in Guaná communities, that "the groups in the region are little bound to the chiefs, only the /64/ Terenas respect their [178] leaders." (115) This statement tells us that among all the

115. 1931:46.

Guaná groups, it seems that only the Terêna retained their traditional culture more or less intact, especially their social structure. Hence the conclusion that the changes that occurred and that are still occurring in Terêna communities must be due to the continuous and systematic contact with the regional population--which after the Paraguayan war tended to increase, as we have seen, owing to demobilization--rather than to the agencies for religious proselytism, consciously oriented toward [797] a transformation of the tribal way of life. It seems that the missionary influence on Terêna culture is a more recent phenomenon, as we shall attempt to show in Chapter VI. (116)

116. "For Guaná culture, naturally," writes Max Schmidt, "the long contact maintained (from the mid-18th century) with Jesuit missions, according to Camaño, must have had a great influence. Despite the fact that the Jesuits, at first, had contact only with the western Guaná groups, those called Chaná, certainly their influences extended to

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the other groups, leading to the loss of much of the traditional culture. After a long interruption of these relations, at the time of the incursions of men of São Paulo /Paulistas/, in the year 1761, the padre, José Sanches Labrador newly visited, for the first time, the Guaná, more precisely the Chaná. With the padre, Don Manuel Duran, an attempt was made to create a lasting mission among the Guaná, who always showed good receptivity. These attempts, however, proved fruitless owing to the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1767. Two years later, a new attempt was made to carry forward missionary work, by Franciscan monks; the lack of means, however, led them to desist in 1772." (1903: 326-327.) This shows that missionary activity itself never had the continuity necessary to lead to a significant change among the Terêna groups, in view of the fact that the other Guaná groups, despite the more intensive contact they

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175 had, did not come to
●177 present radical change during
797 the first three centuries.

175 Suffice it to conclude, for now, that that influence was felt
177 much more through the other Guaná subgroups--such as the
797 Layâna and the Exoaladi--, filtered through these, than
184 through direct contact of the missionaries with Terêna com-
[10] munities: chroniclers give an exhaustive account of the intensity of the contact of those two subgroups not only with missionaries but, especially, with the regional population which did not always distinguish between them but frequently identified them by the generic name "Guanás." (117)

[36] 117. The only reference we know on missionary work in relation to another Guaná group is Taunay's (1863-64) on the Kinikináu: "The model aldea on the Lower Paraguay was unquestionably that of Matto Grande or Bom Sucesso, near Albuquerque, where the Kinikináus, under the paternal and intelligent direction of the most righteous missionary, Frei Mariano de Bagnania, displayed the precious fruits of inspired catechizing." (1931:19-21.)

175 /65/ This neo-Brazilian population, although still very
648 scarce before the war with Paraguay, already maintained relations of an economic order with the Guaná--and rather important ones, to judge by the information left us by Elliot, Leverger, and Alves Ferreira.

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361 120. "The Quiquináus, more than 800 in number, form an aldea in the aforesaid Mato Grande, three leagues northwest of
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439 Albuquerque. They engage in farming and furnish this part of our frontier with manioc flour and beans." (Leverger, 1862:222.)

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648 population, they leave out the Terêna from any more definite
184 role in the regional trade.
439 It is difficult to define the degree of these contacts be-
177 tween Indians and "civilizados"--whether in relations of the
184 catechizing type or of the trading type--but on the other hand
we can infer with relative certainty the greater or lesser intensity /of the contact/ maintained by the above-mentioned Guaná subgroups, comparatively, with the regional population. The greater contact maintained by some of the groups than by others with the national society or with the missions leads us to regard the Terêna as those Indians who were most averse to contact, followed by the Kinikináu, and, lastly--among the groups that crossed the Paraguay River--, by the Exoaladi ("Guanas") and the Layâna.

175 Let us take the episode of the Paraguayan war and analyze
648 the participation in this conflict of the Guaná groups. Taunay
184 --its chief chronicler--writes that the "Guanas, Kinikináus,
167 and Laianos ultimately joined the fleeing population (of
Miranda, headed for the Maracaju /66/ mountain range); and the Terenas isolated themselves and the Cadiuéus assumed an attitude hostile to any white whatsoever, now attacking the Paraguayans on the Apa line, now slaughtering entire families...
[361] at Bonito. The Kinikináus were the first to climb the Maracaju range, up the steeper side, and they settled on the beautiful plain that tops that range...." (121)

121. 1948:218.

/66 cont./

175 Incidentally, the consequences that the Paraguayan war
648 had in dispersing the Terêna through an extensive area stretch-
162 ing from the Miranda River to the Brilhante, the headwaters of
the Vacaria, and the valley of the Dourado, will be dealt with
175 in the chapter that follows. It should be borne in mind only
177 that the conflict, aside from being an important factor in
829 Terêna mobility, was an experience that remained deeply en-
537 graved in the tribal memory, becoming, so to speak, the
181 heroic phase of a people peaceful by nature; it led them to an
awareness of their rights over the territory they occupy, as we
were able to ascertain when we heard the speeches of the
Terêna chief of Cachoeirinha aldea, the principal themes of
which were captivity and the Paraguayan war; on this latter
theme, "Captain" Timóteo said that they, the Terêna, had
fought side by side with the Brazilian forces in defense of their
[796] lands and, therefore, had a right to them. And let it be said
[269] that these speeches were made on solemn occasions, such as
All Souls Day (as witnessed by us) and the ceremonies in the
month of May (heralded by the appearance of the Pleiades),
that is, during the principal /67/ ceremonies of the cult of
the dead; but such themes--including captivity--were not only
found in speeches: all of the old informants we interviewed
[814] referred to them, half in sorrow and half in assertion. All of
which goes to show the importance of those experiences insofar
as they characterize Terêna "historicity," to use an expression
that serves to designate the self-awareness of a people for its
history. (124)

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124. In this regard see the interesting essay by Claude Lefort, "Société sans Histoire et Historicité /Society without History and Historicity/," in which the former visiting professor at the Faculty of

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Historical Brazil SL2

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taken from them. What is clear is that for a long time, even after the creation of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, the Terêna Reservations continued to be supervised by ex-members of the "Missão Rondon," who went on to integrate that service. While much land was lost, others were gained, such as the Buriti and Brejão aldeas, formed respectively in 1922 and 1904, and made into native reservations in 1928 and 1922.

If we analyze the situation in which the Guaná groups were, at the time /68/ of the passing through of the Rondon Commission--which corresponds to that cycle of colonization opened with the "settlement of the demobilized /soldiers/," we shall see how important the first measures taken by the commission and the later creation of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios proved to those Indians--specifically the Terêna, the only ones to benefit from the changes then begun. (128)

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128. "The colonial native policy," in force until the end of the 19th century, was concerned with the pacification of the tribal groups of that area, their enlistment in the fights with the Spaniards, or even their neutralization. Such a policy was based on the establishment of forts (such as Coimbra, Miranda, and Albuquerque) and on the encouragement of missionary work among these indigenous groups, with the purpose of "improving their disposition /índole/." But in spite of all the interest in transforming the Indians also into producers of consumer

Historical Brazil JL2

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goods, and of all the plans made with the aim of helping them (Cf. Almeida Serra, 1850:391-93; Alincourt, 1857:362-63), the authorities of the Colônia did not succeed in developing a help-oriented policy, no matter how rudimentary. Here is what the president of the province of Mato Grosso said in 1837: "...for the catechizing and civilizing of the Indians, I do not trust any armchair plans or directives made without any experience or reliable knowledge of the customs, disposition, and characteristics of each of the tribes. In order to domesticate the nations I mentioned, we had to go to tremendous expense, and where the Lower Paraguay is concerned, the only spot where we met with some success, the aid of favorable occurrences /was needed/; insofar as, surrounded by enemy nations and subjected to the forts and military forces which we have maintained there at all times, they had no recourse other than to accept our repeated

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Brazil SL1

/68 cont./

H 175. 648 G 175 177 [797]

gifts, which they are still receiving. Yet there was no lack of plans, regulations, and repeated orders, most of them unsuccessful, whereas the Spanish Jesuits, without any abstract ideas, without elaborating handsome theories, catechized all the nations they sought out...." (Pimenta Bueno, 1840:170.) The government tried to leave to the religious the job of assistance which it hoped would be carried out in terms of catechization.

G 162 361 B 423 233 At the beginning of the century, the indigenous population was scattered through the fazendas of the region and its depopulated aldeas were compressed by them. Merely in that area of densest Terêna population, between Aquidauna and Miranda, the report of the commission informs us that "the line in that space crossed through the campos of four Fazendas which own about 6,000 head of cattle. Around these, others are clustered, with three times as many livestock," the principal one being
B G 414 the Cutape ranch, belonging to Colonel Estevão Alves Corrêa, with about 10,000 beeves. The camaradas /farm hands/ on these fazendas are for the most part Terêna Indians...:" (129)

G 241 286

129. 1949:82. The report defines the Terêna's working qualities as follows: "They cultivate manioc from which they make flour, bananas, sweet potatoes, sugar cane, and cotton, with which they

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/69 cont./
And while many of these things /70/ still occur today, keeping the Terêna under a regime of exploitation, it cannot be said that there has not been a marked change since the time when the native laborer became the object of special attention on the part of the government, shown in the creation of the S.P.I. From then to now, exploitation has become more subtle, less brutal, but nevertheless effective. And it can be said that as the structure of a "feudal" nature that ruled up to that time in southern Mato Grosso breaks down, thanks to the penetration of the NOB, the native population, along with the neo-Brazilians subjected to the same exploitation, keep benefiting by this. (132)

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132. In the last pages of his thesis, Fernando Altenfelder gives a very good summary of the history of the Terêna, with the aim of giving an idea of the process of cultural change undergone by the Bananal community. The role of the "Inland South America Missionary Union," pointed out by Altenfelder as a basic element in the most recent changes undergone by those Indians, cannot, nevertheless, be generalized to apply to the other communities, in view of the fact that in many of them no Protestant missionaries ever managed to settle.

/73 cont./
361 their lands and drawing them into the colônias of the fazendas.
178 The history of interethnic relations records that a large number
648 of aldeas disappeared in the past, leading their members to
[166] attach themselves to fazendas or to remain as a mobile unit,
moving from fazendas to settlements and cities, and vice versa,
128 immersed in a continuous process of detribalization. In this
chapter and in the following one we shall deal only with the
situation of the Terêna aldea population; the one that now lives
in relatively independent and stable communities, whether or
not they are under the supervision of the Serviço de Proteção
aos Índios.

361 By municípios, we can note the following: Município of
[103] Miranda: Cachoeirinha, Passarinho, Moreira, União, and
Lalima; Aquidauana Município: Bananal, Ipegue, Limão Verde,
and Aldeinha; Nioac Município: Brejão; Sidrolândia Município:
[162] Buriti; Dourados Município: Francisco Horta. Beside these 12
communities, which will be the subject of ecological characterization in the present chapter, we might point out two
other communities which are totally or partially made up of
[103] Terêna Indians. One of them, São João, in the state of Mato
Grosso, and another, Araribá (Curt Nimuendajú Native Post) in
621 São Paulo. The former, São João, within the Kadiwéu reser-
162 vation was formed by introducing Terêna families into a distant
648 part of the fazenda /retiro/ on the bank of the Aquidavão River
and close to the Bodoquena mountain range, in order to insure
ownership of those lands through settlement. The latter,
Araribá aldea, occupied by Guarani Indians, in 1932 got a few
Terêna families (about 50 individuals) whose mission was to
prod the Guarani, by their example, to the agricultural work
162 of the reservation. Nevertheless, it cannot be stated that these
are the only Terêna clusters, since a relatively high percentage
of families are still scattered among the fazendas, probably
living in their colônias, mixed in with neo-Brazilian colonos.
[177] Such families, in spite of being quite disorganized--in terms
[619] of the /74/ traditonal patterns--, still continue to regard
[574]

[Cachoeirinha]

/76 cont./

361 A third cluster of 18 ranchos, called Capão, makes up
621 the newest part of the native reservation and consists of families
[166] who came from other aldeas, especially from Lalima. It can
[556] be said that this area stands for all that is most progressive in Cachoeirinha, including among its occupants two of the richest
177 families on the reservation. Although our aim here is to limit
433 ourselves to a descriptive explanation of the Terêna local
166 groups, we can mention that one of the factors basic to the
621 economic development of Capão is the extremely varied and rich experience acquired by those families in their moves from one aldea to another, frequently by way of fazendas and neo-
000 Brazilian settlements in the region. (139) Finally, both in

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139. The interviews we had with these families, as well as some "life histories," permit us to conclude that these experiences were important to the birth of a "mercantile" mentality, which is practically nonexistent
[464] in Cachoeirinha. One of
[159] the most immediate results is the employment of Indians from the central nucleus on the Capão "fazendas," particularly on that of the ambitious Terêna, Lúcio Souza, a former worker on the Noroeste do Brasil railroad and former owner of a lot in the city of Miranda (he chose to return to Cachoeirinha, because his land in the city did not allow the development of his plantations).

[Bananal and Ipegue]

/83 cont./

161 Cachoeirinha. Sr. R. W.
166 tells us that this influx is
621 also due to the inroads of
[795] Protestantism, which inci-
[578] dentally is limited to
Bananal alone"--and we
might add: due to the
internal conflicts emerging
from that situation.

161 registered at the Taunay Native Reservation or Post (including
162 Bananal and Ipegue); in 1941, there were 1,800 persons; in
621 1946, /the population/ declined to 1,379, and finally, in
[184] 1955, there was another decline to 1,060 individuals. It is
interesting that this population decrease did not occur in a
homogeneous manner, if Bananal and Ipegue are considered
separately: whereas in 1946 Bananal had 995 inhabitants and
161 Ipegue 384, in 1955 Bananal had 617 and Ipegue 443. One
166 concludes that the population decrease occurred only in
621 Bananal and that Ipegue underwent a slight demographic in-
184 crease, which seems to point to the politico-religious conflicts
578 in Bananal as the causes of the exodus. Many Indians who
166 identified themselves as "Catholics," moved to Ipegue or to
162 Cachoeirinha, communities which up to today have not been
621 effectively reached by Protestant proselytism; and, on the
795 other hand, many "Believers" moved to União and Moreira
and marked them as Protestant communities, as indicated in
earlier pages.

361 /84/ Bananal is undoubtedly the most important Terêna
621 aldea and the most "urbanized," including houses, some of
● [177] brick and the majority of adobe, but duly whitewashed and laid
[342] out with perfect symmetry, forming streets and blocks in
[361] good town fashion. In this area we have the Taunay Native
Post, the school building, the Catholic church, the Protestant
church, the "bolicho" of a Terêna, and the post guest house,
as well as 84 Terêna dwellings.

/88 cont./ [Limão Verde and Aldeinha]

439 settlement of Morrinho. Its principal products suitable for ex-
port are manioc flour, bananas, sugar-cane juice, and unre-
464 fined sugar in small bricks /rapadura/. The members of the
648 community work on the closer fazendas and in Aquidauana, and
many Terêna girls work as domestics in Aquidauana. And,
● 177
197 in spite of the wide contact that the community maintains with
foci of culture change, such as Aquidauana, the most widely
spoken language is the Terêna tongue, familiar even to the
non-native members of the community. We would venture to
say that this is a case of "Terenization" of the neo-Brazilian
and Paraguayan population, whereas in Lalima--another multi-
ethnic community--there was a gradual disappearance of the
tribal languages, with the imposition of Portuguese as the most
widely spoken language.

162 In the city of Aquidauana, in the suburban zone, there
361 live 39 families of Terêna Indians and mestizos that make up
a population of slightly less than 250 individuals. Living two
kilometers from the left bank of the Aquidauana River, on lands
they acquired themselves, these Terêna are regarded as people
of Aldeinha.

175 In 1933, three brothers, Gregório (Neco), Sebastião,
621 and José, passing through Aquidauana after leaving Buriti on
their way to Bananal, decided to buy some lands at the in-
sistence of a sister--already settled in Aquidauana--who wanted
[423] them near her, in the same city. With the sale of a few cattle
and horses, they bought about 40 hectares for "1,800,000 reis."
[622] Old Neco, /two plates appear here/ /89/ to all extents and
[166] purposes the head of the community, says that immediately
after settling down in that place, "compatriots" began to pour
175 in asking permission to live on those lands. Every night they
621 would station themselves at the entrance, singing religious
797 hymns. This activity made the little aldea that was forming
[533] become known as the Aldeinha /little aldea/ of the "Believers."
[795] Whether the persons who went to live there were already
Protestants, or became "Believers" through the catechization

[text continues on p.127]

/91 cont./ [Brejão or Capitão Vitorino]

872 they erected a spacious shed
628 and left there a teacher, at a
346 salary of 3,000 cruzeiros a
875 month, recruited from the
Aldeinha Sunday services!

162 /92/ As for the ethnic composition of the community,
621 it can be said that there are two mestizo families (Terêna--
neo-Brazilian), one Guaikurú descendant married to a Kinikináu
survivor, one Negro woman married to a Terêna woman.
648 Between the reservation and Nioac there is a "colônia,"
Monte Alto, made up to a large extent of Paraguayan elements.
It has a rural school, with four teachers, as well as a "bolicho."
[439] The school is attended only by children from the "colônia,"
but the "bolicho" is frequented by Indians, neo-Brazilians,
439 and Paraguayans. Thus, Monte Alto and Nioac maintain close
contact and intensive trade relations with the native com-
munity. The Indians sell, chiefly to Nioac, maize, manioc
flour, tapioca, gourds, watermelons, squash /Cucurbita maxima/,
and sometimes unrefined sugar (the latter, according to the
statement of one Terêna informant, "is not worth selling, it
241 pays so little"). Aside from these products, the community
plants for its own consumption the following species: rice,
/sweet/ potatoes, beans /feijão miúdo/, cane, and earthnuts.
797 And as in so many Terêna aldeas, religious proselytism is in
the hands of Redemptorist padres, whose headquarters are in
Aquidauana, and who come once a month to the community
[344] to say Mass and teach the catechism; but it must be said that
on the reservation there is no building that might be called
a church: the padres' activities are carried out in the private
homes of the few inhabitants who call themselves Catholics.
As for Protestants, we found that in spite of the two attempts
to this effect on the part of the Bananal Evangelical Mission,
177 there are no "Believers" in Brejão. Thus, the agents of culture
change in the community are limited to the post, practically

/92 cont./ [Brejão or Capitão Vitorino]

177 controlled by "Captain" Vitorino and his daughter, both rather closely tied to the regional way of life; the new teacher of the Água Branca school; the above-mentioned Redemptorist padres; and, outside the community, but no less effective, Monte Alto and Nioac.

Buriti

175 Among Terêna aldeas, Buriti is that most recently formed.
621 /93/ Nevertheless, it is not easy to pinpoint the time when
162 Terêna Indians were first to be found there. There are indi-
[101] cations that the place called Invernada do Buriti was occupied
by Ofaié-Xavante Indians (151) who abandoned that spot,

175 151. The Relatório Anual da
621 Inspetoria de Mato Grosso for
648 1927 says the following: "In
423 fulfillment of my duties as
[113] Inspetor of the Serviço de
Proteção aos Índios in this state, and in order to attend to the insistent requests of some Indians living at the place called Invernada do Buriti, on the boundary of the Fazenda de Correntes, município of Aquidauana, whose aldeamento, from what they tell us, has existed there for more than 35 years, on lands which they claim belong to the state, I ask you in accordance with the terms of Articles 90 and 95, Ch. VI

[Buriti]

/95 cont./
872 invited to teach; but this was unsuccessful: the "teacher" had
875 the pupils sing religious hymns, incurring sharp criticism from
the post superintendent, who could not permit the S. P. I.
school to have a religious content, whether Catholic or
● 177 Protestant. Aside from these foci of culture change, that is, the
schools, the post itself, the mission, and the Catholic padres
who occasionally visit Buriti, we have the neighboring fazendas
464 and the "bolichos." As for the fazendas, it should be noted
648 that when we passed through Água Azul we did not find a single
adult male in the community; they were all working on the
fazendas and were to return to the aldea only at the end of the
366 day. And concerning the "bolichos," we found four of them
491 at the head of four of the roads that connect the reservation
797 with the outside; on the fifth road, the Evangelical mission
already referred to was situated. Thus, of the five means of
access to the native community, four are controlled by "bolichos"
and one by missionaries.

648 But the relations of the aldea are not limited to the
"bolichos" and to the mission referred to. Four leagues from
Buriti there is the town of Sidrolândia, with a few business
houses, a pharmacy, the prefecture, and a modest boarding
house. Between Sidrolândia and Buriti, one league from the
latter, there is a small settlement of neo-Brazilians called
Barro Prêto /"black clay"/, probably because of the great
dampness of its soil, which is quite dark and good for farming.
[439] The Indians of the community maintain regular contacts with
Barro Prêto and with Sidrolândia, only not trading with them
because of the insufficient production of goods on the reserva-
[252] tion. It should be borne in mind that the chief product in
Buriti is manioc flour, which nevertheless is not put out in
quantities larger than necessary for internal consumption.
464 Buriti is one of the communities most dependent on the regional
648 labor market; the large numbers of cattle in the aldea do not
[233] belong to the Indians but to the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios,
which naturally does not require more than five peons to care

G /96 cont./ [Francisco Horta]

Gi Among the agents of culture change of the Terêna and
177 Kaiwá communities, we note the Francisco Horta Native Post,
[872] built in 1924-25, along with its school, whose teacher is now
G a woman missionary from the neighboring "Missão Evangélica
Gi Caiuá"; the Protestant mission itself, with its well-equipped
[797] infirmary, nursery for orphan children, church, and school,
G all of these annexes being situated on a land plot next to the
Gi entrance of the reservation; several "bolichos" situated on the
[366] chief ways of access to the aldea; the fazendas of the region,
Gi characterized by the maté industry, with Paraguayans and
[464] Kaiwá Indians from Francisco Horta /97/ working on its extraction; and naturally, the city of Dourados, which is only
G five kilometers away.

Gi As a result of the persistent work of the missionaries,
797 nearly all of the Terêna community call themselves Protestants.
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[775] On the other hand, the infrequent visits of the Catholic padres
Gi of Dourados to the reservation are not sufficient to attract the
[771] Kaiwá, whose religious vitality, so well analyzed by Schaden (155)
[114]

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Gi keeps them attached to their own traditions. And as a result
798 of the Protestant proselytism, one notes in Francisco Horta--
621 as in the other indigenous communities where "Believers" have settled--a certain social tension, manifested in the discrimination of non-Protestant individuals toward those who
G call themselves "Believers," whether Terêna or Kaiwá Indians.
Gi From what we were able to ascertain during our stay at the
[795] mission--where we were for five days--, the religious bonds
[619] were stronger among the Terêna and Kaiwá than the tribal bonds; that is, all of the "Believers," without consideration of tribal or ethnic origin, were united against those who did not profess the same creed.

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155. Cf. Egon Schaden, 1954:159-170.

[Francisco Horta]

G /97 cont. /

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But if we were to compare the Terêna and the Kaiwá populations in Francisco Horta, the latter would leave much to be desired in terms of economic development. Actually the difference is quite real; the Terêna families exhibit an adequate standard of living, based on good farm plots and regular trade with Dourados, aside from well-built houses similar to the neo-Brazilian dwellings in the region; whereas the Kaiwá look quite poor, tattered and with an agricultural production that is hardly enough for their own consumption, compelling them to hire themselves out for the matê industry or any other work on the fazendas of the region.

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To close this chapter, in which we endeavored to analyze from an ecological standpoint the present configuration and distribution of the Terêna local groups, we can say that all the communities studied are characterized by being turned toward the outside: not only through the fact that the Terêna try to place all of their production on the regional market (leaving a small part for their own consumption), but also, and principally, through their being hired by the fazendas, where they find their principal source of income. We have seen in this brief analysis how rare are the /98/ cases of self-sufficient Terêna families, understanding by this the fact that they are not obliged to work outside their own lands for their survival. Nearly all of the useful population (from 20 to 50 years of age) is connected with the regional labor market, although as a mobile group. [171] This permits us to state that here is a phenomenon of economic integration of the highest degree, when we compare the Terêna with other tribal groups that are also "integrated into Brazilian society," (156) but not necessarily assimilated by it.

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156. We use the concept of "integrated" to characterize the end situation of a continuum at the opposite extreme of which are the "isolated"

[text continues on p. 142]

/98 cont./

121 economic life of which they have become incorporated as reserve labor or as specialized producers of certain articles of trade." (*Ibidem*:13.)

621/ 648 177 assimilated by it. In the particular case of the Terêna communities characterized above, it is seen that their components continue to be so closely connected with them that nothing indicates that they can be assimilated into the regional society in the foreseeable future. Psychological and social mechanisms prevent the process of assimilation from developing in a positive [128] manner. But before we deal with these mechanisms, we must say something more about these communities, analyzing them in the next chapter in terms of their socio-cultural variations. This will complete our idea of the conditions of existence of the present-day *aldea* Terêna.

/99/ VI. Socio-cultural Variations among Terêna Communities

121 [128] The present chapter will be devoted to an analysis of socio-cultural variations among Terêna communities, in an attempt to understand the behavior, expectations, and claims of their components. In a concrete manner, we want to know what the pattern of conduct (157) of the present-day Terêna

157. We use *conduct* as a concept intermediary between "society" and "individual" and operating "in that strategic area where individual behavior becomes social *conduct*." (Nadel, 1957:20.)

/*99 cont.*/

121 is and what form it assumes in the various communities visited
[184] by us. In the preceding chapter we made quite clear the variety
[621] of configurations and the considerable differentiation existing
among communities, insofar as, for example, *ethnic composition* or even *antiquity* itself is concerned.

184 Taking the first variable, we have, on the one hand,
162 the following *aldeas*: Cachoeirinha, Bananal, Ipegue,
621 Passarinho, Moreira, União, Buriti, and Brejão, as ethnically homogeneous communities, with more than 90 per cent Terêna individuals; on the other hand, we have Lalima, Francisco Horta, Limão Verde, and Aldeinha, (158) made up of survivors of already extinct groups such as the Kinikinâu, Layâna, and Guaikuru, or of Guarani or Paraguaian individuals, where the Terêna are in the minority or in the same numbers as the others. In these latter communities we would also have to consider the index of mestizos--fruits of interethnic or intertribal unions--, who in some of the *aldeas* are of great importance for a socio-cultural characterization.

184 As for the second variable, we might imagine a
175 "gradient" /*100*/ in which we would have at one extreme
621 Cachoeirinha, Ipegue, and Bananal, and at the other, Buriti,
177 Aldeinha, and União, without leaving out the Terêna "community" of Francisco Horta, whose components reached that Guarani *aldea* no earlier than 1917. The time when the *aldea* was formed is very important to the present inquiry, insofar as it helps us to understand the greater or lesser resistance of
[144] the communities to change. The older communities, such as
[166] those referred to above, show greater cultural vitality, revealing

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158. It is possible to include in this same category *São João aldea*: with Terêna and Kinikinâu Indians and a large number of mestizos.

/100 cont./
184 a lower index of deculturation in comparison with the newer
175 ones, whose components had a lengthier experience of non-
621 communal life, hired out as they were to the great fazendas
177 of the region. The high mobility of these Indians, moving
464 from fazenda to fazenda, did not permit a more permanent
166 co-existence of families, necessary for the establishment of
greater group solidarity and for keeping alive the tribal "we."
Few of the families remained together for a long period in a
fazenda "colônia"; for the very reason that those who did stay
did not leave the fazendas in search of "lands of their own";
they remained settled in their own "community," as long as
they found there sufficient "tribal consensus," supplemented
by a consistently reliable labor market. This is the case, for
example, of the Terêna "colônia" on the fazenda of
Sr. Raymundo Correia, in Duque Estrada, comprising six
ranchos and a considerable number of children who attend
[466] the settlement school. Nevertheless, the great majority of
fazendas offered the worst possible working conditions, where-
by the individual received, in kind, the minimum necessary
for his survival, while working, a fact that is explicative of
his high mobility.

184 In spite of the differences pointed out in the previous
chapter and susceptible--as we have seen--of classification
into polar categories, we note a considerable cultural uniformity
when we take the Terêna population as a whole. There is a
common denominator that permits us to regard the local groups
as made up of a relatively homogenous population from the
184 cultural standpoint. It can be said that the Terêna cultural
177 patrimony adapted to a variety of interethnic and intertribal
178 contact situations, without presenting on this account im-
portant differences in terms of the pattern of behavior. The
latter seems to have remained relatively constant throughout
the communities, although /101/ this does not mean that this
behavior remained immune to such objective conditions as the
politico-religious situation of the aldea or intervention from

/101 cont./

184 the outside, represented by the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios
● 177 and the religious missions. External intervention and the
178 politico-religious situation nevertheless did not lead to a sufficiently significant deviation from the existing norms (of the Terêna universe) to make for two or more Terêna subcultures. This will become clear as we analyze the most relevant socio-cultural variants, i.e., those that resulted from the operation of the agencies of culture change that were most influential in the configuration of each community.

177 The actuation of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios,
648 even though it is practically the same in relation to Terêna
184 *aldeas* that have native posts, differs considerably in relation
621 to *aldeas* without posts, those where, for various reasons, the S. P. I. was unable to set itself up or did so in a precarious fashion. In this latter situation is found the *aldea* of Passarinho and, with it, Moreira, under the circumstances referred to in the previous chapter; in the former situation, can be noted Limão Verde, Aldeinha, and União, the last two being private properties, and the first one an *aldea* whose lands, not yet demarcated or set aside as a reservation, did not stir the S. P. I. administration to build a post and place a superintendent in it. For this reason, these five communities hardly share in the protectionist activities of the government, being marginal to the minor help received by the other *aldeas*. (159)

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159. When we once asked a superintendent about the aloofness he maintained with respect to one of those *aldeas*--which were rather close to his post--, he replied that he had nothing to do with those Indians since they did not belong to his *aldea*.--It is clear that such an attitude does not go

/104 cont./

184 include any native families
233 that own reasonable numbers
511 of beeves sufficient to give
them relative economic independence, like those of
Lalima and Brejão.

184 Cachoeirinha it was still possible to find, up to a short time
233 ago, one or two families that subsisted exclusively on their
511 herds of cattle; however, the shortage of water and the increasing impoverishment of the pastures made it impossible for those families to remain in the aldea and to go on tending
[166] their herds. One family from Bananal and one from
[441] Cachoeirinha finally left the aldea, the former selling its herd and going to live in Campo Grande, as the owner of a trading
[427] establishment, and the latter renting fields from neighboring
182 fazendeiros and fattening its cows on them. These two aldeas,
241 like the others not possessers of good pasture grounds, and,
511 especially, of an abundance of water, are characterized by their agricultural activities and make it possible for a few families to obtain all their means of subsistence from fields of rice, maize, cane, manioc, and beans, to list only the chief species cultivated.

184 The most significant differences between Terêna com-
571 munities must be sought, nevertheless, on the associative plane,
177 since that is what reflects the most violent--and relatively recent--impact on these Indians of the regional society.

797 We refer in particular to the activities of the Protestant
798 religious missions. These, as a new institution--since they came to operate in a region traditionally covered by Catholic missionaries--entered in the Terêna villages into a highly competitive situation, insofar as their objective was to convert those Indians who called themselves Catholics, more by force of habit than properly speaking by /line missing here/, more intensive and efficient than the Catholic, the Protestant

/104 cont./
797 missionaries managed to organize groups of Indians who were
798 relatively imbued with the doctrine and practice of the gospel, through whom they went on to convert, in certain aldeas, a considerable number of individuals, to the point of creating a certain hostility between the Protestant converts and the
621 non-Protestants or Catholics. (163) Typical, in this respect,
798 is the aldea of Bananal, followed closely by Limão Verde, Buriti, and Moreira-Passarinho. In these aldeas, it can be said that there occurred a division of the respective communities into /two plates appear here/ /105/ two groups: "Catholic" and "Protestant." We use these terms in quotation marks, because the mechanism that grants access to each of
● 177 these groups is probably as much political as religious. It
797 should be made clear, however, that other agents of culture change, such as the native post and the school it controls, are not being overlooked as active elements in the process of conversion, whether in a positive or negative way. There is no question that these agencies represent, alongside the missions, an unique and special instrument of change. Only by an attempt at abstracting on the part of the researcher, by identifying each of these agencies as variables of the same complex, does it become possible to differentiate the elements that make up this instrument. Thus, it might be said with Mayer Fortes that "the conversion of an individual or group frequently represents the culmination of a process brought about in the total complex by contact influences, of which the mission is only a single component." (164)

163. Consult Rattray-Hay, *op. cit.*

164. 1938:67.

[text continues on p.152]

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/107 cont./

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to the religious inconsistency of these groups, felt even by the missionaries themselves, who commented that "the Indians are inconstant and weak in their faith" (1943:359).

621 798 665 184 For this reason, it would not be fitting to say here--as did Redfield in relation to Chan Kom--that the introduction of Protestantism resulted in a new subculture: that of Protestant converts. (166) Aside from the factors emphasized above, it should be added that the Terêna--and we might extend this observation to the other Guaná groups, insofar as the bibliographic material permits us--never showed much religiosity, so characteristic in their Guarani neighbors. (167) Excluding

771 [171] 166. Robert Redfield, 1949:355.

[77] 167. Cf. Ego Schaden, 1954:159-170. On the other hand, contrary to what occurs in various Brazilian tribes such as the Borôro or the Guarani themselves, in whose cultures religion is a symbol of tribal identity, among the Terêna it can be said that the old body of beliefs seems not to have survived the impact of Euro-American society.

/107 cont./ Excluding
771 their shamanistic rituals--now reduced to a mere technique for
[755] fighting sicknesses--, the poverty of the ceremonial and of
[797] the beliefs in an extraterrestrial world is flagrant. It is true
[171] that the Terêna have had more than a century of systematic contact with Catholic missions, but it is also true that the Guarani
have had more, and nevertheless have shown a much greater
771 religious vitality. Unfortunately we do not have data that
171 would permit us to compare the religious activities, Protestant
or Catholic, exercised among the Guarani groups, with those
exercised among the Terêna. But, to judge by the works of
Curt Nimuendaju and Ego Schaden, Guarani culture is indeed
characterized by the importance that the religious system holds
within it and by the high mysticism of its members. Which
771 precisely is not the case among the Terêna. Among these,
797 the Christian faiths penetrated but in a much more formal
● 177 way--by means of their ceremonials--than as new means for
explaining the world. In this sense, the Terêna showed much
realism, to the point of not substituting Christian cosmogony
for their traditional system of beliefs when the latter broke
down. The impression gained, after living with them several
months, is that they care little about the supernatural, actually to a much lesser extent than the inlander of the region.
[795] /108/ With the possible exception of a few individuals, "Believers," to the majority the new faiths were only a cloak,
[571] something external to individual conscience, valid as a source
of "status" and of parts that help in the adjustment of individuals
to the new situations created by the changing communities. (168)

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168. Each of the groups has its stereotype: the "Catholic" is regarded as a vagrant, great drunkard, and merrymaker; the "Protestant," as pious, hard-working, and honest. This is what the "Believer"

/108 cont./
000 endeavor a futile one. It is sufficient for us to bear in mind
797 that, since the Christian religious complexes did not penetrate
177 deeply into Terêna culture, the behavior of these Indians has
182 not been very much affected, unless we regard as important
the acceptance on the part of the "Believers" of certain rules
of comportment, such as not drinking, not smoking, and not
dancing, which are not difficult to find among the "Catholics"
themselves, or those without religion. Hence, we do not find
two really distinct /patterns of/ behavior created by the
795 activities of the different missions. Those of both, to a greater
771 or lesser extent, attend the shamanistic practices and appear
796 at the religious and secular festivities that mark the life of the
community. On the days of St. John, St. Sebastian,
St. Anthony, and St. Benedict, the entire population participates
in the secular part of the commemorations; the same
may be said of "Oheokoti" and Holy Week, nowadays merged
into a single body of ceremonies, in which are evident on the
same plane Christian and pagan elements and secular practices.

184 /109/ On the basis of the complex politico-religious
621 situation generated by the diversity of motivations which
797 operated in the conversion of the Terêna, we can classify their
795 aldeas into three groups: a) Cachoeirinha, Ipegue, and Brejão,
as aldeas where Evangelical proselytism was not very successful,
their inhabitants continuing to consider themselves
[665] "Catholics"; (169) b) Bananal, Limão Verde, Buriti, and

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169. In these villages as in the others--with the exception of União, Aldeinha, and Francisco Horta--the Terêna are visited by the North American Catholic padres of the Redemptorist Order who have their headquarters in the principal cities of the region.

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"Protestant" nucleus of Ág−ua Azul, in the Buriti reservation, the lowest standard of living, while we ascertained in Bananal that the wealthiest families were "Catholic" or were already in favorable economic conditions when converted to Protestantism.

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797 this account divided the community into two antagonistic
795 religious groups.

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177 The socio-cultural variations indicated so far have served to show that the Terêna population, settled in aldeas, despite the different configurations and the diversity of experiences it has undergone, has maintained on the whole a relatively constant behavior. But while this behavior developed different styles (such as the pious attitude of the "Believers" and the freer comportment of the "Catholics"), this does not mean that it varies sufficiently for us to regard as legitimate the existence of two or more Terêna subcultures brought about as a result of the acculturation process. This, we believe, has been sufficiently demonstrated.

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167 Nevertheless, this work would not attain its objectives if we did not /110/ consider another facet of the problem of the interaction of the Terêna with the Brazilian society of southern Mato Grosso: the mobility of part of the Terêna population, who, as separate individuals or as families, leave their aldeas of origin and go on to live in cities such as Miranda, Aquidauana, and Campo Grande. Nothing has yet been said about this numerically inferior portion of the Terêna population, which is nevertheless considerable. Acculturation and mobility, as two dimensions of the same process--which we shall call assimilation--will be the themes of the next chapter.

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VII. Acculturation and Mobility

/177 /167 Acculturation and social mobility will be dealt with, in this chapter, as two socio-cultural phenomena which, according to their own peculiarities, have played a basic role in the process of assimilation of the Terêna.

/21 Already several times, in the course of this work, we have used the term assimilation, yet without defining it adequately. Up to now this was not necessary, since the context itself in which the term occurred was sufficient to make the reality described intelligible to the reader, who did not need to resort to any but simple concepts. Now this definition can no longer be postponed, since we shall be dealing with more controversial matters, which, for this reason, will have to be conceptualized with precision. Thus, we understand, by "assimilation," the "processus" by which an ethnic group is incorporated into another, losing (a) its cultural peculiarity and (b) its previous ethnic identification. Whereas the first consequence, (a), is equivalent to the process of acculturation, the second one, (b), has a psychological content as well, although it is characterized as a socio-cultural phenomenon, chiefly owing to the fact that the group is the unit under consideration; here, individual assimilation is set aside, or at best, used in a comparative sense. (172) On the other hand,

[text continues on p.162]

172. The word assimilation has been used by sociologists to designate "a process of mutual adjustment through which culturally different groups gradually obliterate their differences to the point where they are no longer regarded as socially significant or observable /cited in English/."

/111 cont./

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> in accordance with Glaser (1958:34), according to whom "the pure assimilated person is an ideal-typical conception formed by extrapolating our continuum to its extreme, but rarely encountered empirically... /cited in English/." And Glaser concludes with the admonition that "by the standard sociological definitions of assimilation, a person is not fully assimilated if he is conscious of trying to be assimilated: in the latter case, we would consider him desegregating" (p. 32). /Cited in English./

assimilation, like acculturation, /112/ can also mean a "condition" as opposed to a "process"; in this case, the context in which they appear will suffice to elucidate them as a dynamic category (process) or a static one (condition), as we [177] see in these respective examples: "assimilation--or acculturation--has [619] led the Terêna groups to a radical change in their behavior...," and "not yet assimilated--or sufficiently acculturated--, the Terêna remain a people with a tribal consciousness strong enough to differentiate them from the regional population and to prevent their classification as a national variant or subculture...."

We deem it fitting to underscore here this difference between the concepts of assimilation and acculturation--as "process" and as "condition"--in order to overcome an obvious ambiguity which incidentally has already been pointed out by Ralph Beals. (173)

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173. 1953:627-628.

/113 cont./

/121 this social group from others." (180) This second formulation

180. Ibid.

of the concept of acculturation will permit us to use it in the dynamic analysis of the Terêna population settled in aldeas, whereas the concept of social mobility proves adequate to an analysis of the Terêna who reside in the cities. This does not mean that the latter are exempt from culture change; it merely /114/ means that they are no longer subject to the mechanisms that govern a particular type of culture change, which we call acculturation.

/177 The acculturation process to which the Terêna popula-
621 tion is subjected (we refer to the population that is settled in aldeas, i.e., that has a communal life) has had different results as a consequence of the variations encountered among the communities as a whole. Let us take ethnic composition and antiquity--incidentally, variables noted at the beginning of the previous chapter--and we shall see how they have in-
184 fluenced the cultural configuration of the communities. The
177 aldeas of multiple ethnic composition, such as Lalima,
621 Francisco Horta, Limão Verde, and Aldeinha, tend to be much
[762] more open to innovations, whereas the others, although they cannot be regarded as closed, show greater resistance to those techniques and ideologies that come from the outside. (181)

[121] 181. We are using these concepts, although in an unorthodox manner, in the sense in which they appear in the already-mentioned 1953 document on acculturation. (Cf. 1954:975-976.)

[166] The analysis of antiquity, in turn, as a category that permits

/114 cont./

184 us to differentiate (a) the traditional local groups from (b) com-
● 177 munities formed by individuals coming from fazendas, (182)
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leads us to verify the existence of greater receptivity to new cultural elements in the aldeas of more recent formation (b) such as Buriti, aside from the already-mentioned Francisco Horta and Aldeinha, which are included in the first category (multiple ethnic composition), and for this reason, are "doubly" open. União appears here as a special case, even though it is the most recently created aldea; its members did not come from fazendas, but from a community like Bananal, and thus are not very different from the Protestant "community" from which they split for circumstantial reasons. (183)

178 In the first (a) group of aldeas, for example, there is
535 still in force the "bate-pau dance" (Kohitxoti-kipahé), as well
[527] as the "race of the little horses" (Ivuixote-vogomoto), as traditional play activities performed on festive days, such as Indian Day, September 7 /Independence Day/, /115/ etc.
[648] These "games," already mentioned in Chapter III, were actually

182. In spite of almost all the Terêna population having lived on fazendas, at least for a relatively short period, some local groups were not broken up altogether, making possible a regrouping, to their benefit, of scattered families which, in a former time, were tied to them: in this situation are Cachoeirinha, Ipegue, and Bananal.

183. Cf. pp. 120-123.

178 /116 cont./
535 participation in activities of
621 this sort very difficult.
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178 It is true that these variables are significant to an understanding
184 of the survival of these "games," and also (in terms
621 of the same mechanisms) for the study of certain cultural complexes
still in force in the old *aldeas*, such as the traditional
forms of burying the dead (with all of their belongings), the
use of kinship terms, or the peculiar sexual division of labor,
all of these complexes having disappeared from the communities
of the second (b) group, as well as from those of multiple
178 ethnic composition. But it cannot be said that such variables
756 have the same importance for the analysis of the magico-religious
755 rituals organized by the Koixomuneti. Wherever
there is a *Koixomuneti*--and they are spread through all the
aldeas and even in the cities, as we shall see below--the rituals
are carried out, their "results" varying of course (according to
the testimony of the Terêna) with the mastery of magical
178 practices possessed by their agents. What can be said is that
796 the old *Oheokoti*, heralded--as we saw in Chapter III--by the
[177] appearance of the Pleiades, today has practically disappeared;
replaced as it has been by the basically Catholic activities of
Holy Week. Nevertheless, there are indications that up to
1955 (!), in Bananal, the *Oheokoti* was performed with some
regularity in its traditional form, i.e., with the magico-religious
ceremonies followed by the activities of the *Yanakalu*,
by the collective meal, and concluded with the *Mootó*. (186)

186. The informants, in Bananal, told us that it is becoming increasingly difficult to gather participants, and that on the last occasion they managed to get only ten individuals, counting old and young.

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Now, in Cachoeirinha, the last time when a complete Oheokoti ceremony was performed was in 1915, judging from the information gathered in the aldea that gives this /117/ date as that of the last Mootó. Since then, the collective Mootó has become an individual affair: when a Xumonó Terena--for example--aware of his skill as a fighter, invited a Sukirikionó to a "fight," and the latter accepted, they were both probably more inclined to revive an ancient source of prestige than to foster a ceremony connected with religious rituals, although secular /in itself/. Today, it can be said, the Oheokoti has been much simplified, in spite of the fact that the term is still in force as a general designation for the magico-religious ceremonies performed by the Koixomuneti. [614] [526] [756]

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Nevertheless, it is also necessary to differentiate from the usual shamanistic rituals (performed with the sole purpose of healing diseases and warding off evil), those ceremonies directed to the "guardian spirits" of the Koixomuneti. Each Koixomuneti has his Koipihapati-Koixomuneti, i.e., the spirits of dead doctor-sorcerers who, in life, enjoyed great prestige in the community, and, in some cases, got to be teachers of the Koixomuneti, who receives him /sic/ on specific days. (187) It is to these magico-religious ceremonies that the name Oheokoti is given at the present day.

● [172]

187. These days may or may not coincide with Holy Week, although Good Friday is the day most fitting for the Oheokoti. Several of the Koixomuneti told us that they "work" on this day, among them the late João Grande, of Cachoeirinha, "Oongó," the aunt of the "Captain" of Bananal, and old Juliana, who lives in

/117 cont./

> 178 Campo Grande. All of them
> 796 were characterized by their
> 756 great age, especially João
> 775 Grande, perhaps the oldest
> [165] of all, who died in 1957 at
> the age of approximately 100.

that the name Oheokoti is given at the present day.

177 Although these ceremonies still take place in all of the
178 Terêna communities, they seem to have been much modified
755 in their internal structures. They now present intrusive Catholic
756 and spiritualist elements, which make them a living example
771 of religious syncretism: the Koixomuneti call themselves
796 Catholics, wear medals and hang pictures of saints on the walls of their "ranchos," while at the same time their practices show spiritualist influences, due to the contact they maintain with the so-called "low spiritualism" of the cities. It is frequently heard that "spiritualism is getting into the aldea" and that the
[619] present Koixomuneti "are not as good as the old ones." In short, it can be said that in spite of all the modifications undergone by the Oheokoti--or perhaps, due to the same, since they made him more flexible--, he continues to survive and to fulfill his integrating function, or, in other /118/ words, as we already said, to foster tribal solidarity and strengthen the ethnic consciousness of all of the Terêna local groups, succeeding in attracting even the individuals who live in the cities.

178 This flexibility shown by the Oheokoti had no parallel
571 in the traditional social structure. This is the reason why the
[177] latter broke down, without resisting the changes operating in the regional scene, when the Terêna communities were compelled to resist the expanding front of Brazilian society. As we saw in Chapter III--and as we are merely recalling here--, the extraordinary rigidity of Guaná-Terêna social structure, made up of the combination of a three-fold asymmetrical

/118 cont./
178 structure over a two-fold, symmetrical one, could not survive
571 after the dispersal of the Terêna and the resulting disorganiza-
160 tion of the local groups. We should also add to this the kin-
582 ship system itself, which, thanks to the unity of the "sibling"
group, made even much more difficult the survival of the tribal organization, insofar as it reduced considerably the marriage possibilities, already so limited by the strata. In the face of this, it can be said that such a structure is rigid, as opposed to the flexible type mentioned by the members of the Seminar on Acculturation when they refer to the possibility of a typological differentiation of the internal structures of cultural systems. (188)

188. Social Science Research Council, 1954:976-977.

177 The counterpart of the disappearance of the old social
571 structure was the adoption of an associative system, still vague, but which emerged from the neo-Brazilian communities that formed along the paths of the pioneering settlers. Monogamy, the nuclear family as a dwelling unit, greater freedom in the choice of a spouse, and the compadrío system, for example, were cultural complexes incorporated into the tribal culture
178 that transformed completely the traditional way of life. But
571 not even by this did the Terêna lose their "tribal consciousness,"
619 even though it had been traumatized by the breakdown of the old infra-structure and by its dislocation from the old value system, its religion, and its mythology. At least those Terêna who remained in their aldeas, or who reorganized into relatively autonomous communities (such as those of group (b) had land on which to live and to cultivate, and as a result could have a group life and thus keep alive /119/ the "tribal we" and postpone indefinitely their assimilation into Brazilian society.

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184 It is impossible to exaggerate, on the other hand, the
177 distance existing between the aldea Terêna and those who are
319 scattered in the cities or fazendas, when we discuss their positions in the process of assimilation. Both are subjected to the same socio-cultural mechanisms that operate in this process, although the latter tend to react more favorably, especially when they belong to the second or third generation. Incidentally, these mechanisms will be examined in the final chapter of this work. First, however, we shall try to characterize this non-aidea population in order to ascertain whether it is legitimate to take it as a variant of the process of assimilation.

121 The greatest difficulty met with by the ethnologist in
162 working with a population scattered through an area as extensive
319 as that occupied by the detribalized Terêna, (189) concerns

189. The term detribalized designates that Terêna population that is not settled in aldeas and that lives on fazendas and in cities. Although detribalization may refer to a "condition" (as in the present case), it frequently indicates a "process," whenever we are considering a given population that lives independently from the local groups, although it may be connected with them in certain aspects; strictly speaking, the local group or the native community has no direct control and very little indirect control, over this population.

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171 Not much has been known up to now about the social position of the South American chief and its effect on marriage and succession. Most observers of the hunters and gatherers and the "lower" agriculturalists are content to describe him as primus inter pares whose authority could grow to decisive importance only in war and extraordinary situations. But in the case of some Indians, for instance, the nomadic gathering and hunting people of the Tschamakoko /Chamacoco/ and the sedentary agricultural tribe of the Kaskihá (1), we are familiar with the basic difference that among them the common man practices following the wife /Gattinnenfolge/, whereas the wife of a chief or his eldest son moves to the place of her father-in-law or husband upon marrying. Furthermore, I was able to observe among the hunting peoples of the Tschamakoko and Bororo that they, as we also know, for example, for the Guaykurú, seem to believe in a "nobler blood" of the chiefs and because of this in their right to a preferential position.

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178 I did not have an opportunity for a more thorough study of the marriage and succession of the chiefs until February, 1934, among the Tereno /Terena/ living not far from Miranda in the southern part of the Brazilian state of Mato Grosso. Although this Arawak tribe probably has had peaceful contacts with whites since the middle of the seventeenth century, contacts which without doubt have become increasingly close, since the middle of the previous century, /39/ it has nevertheless preserved, besides its language, certain arrangements of its social organization.

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361 The Tereno, whose number according to various reports has varied between two thousand to four thousand individuals for more than a hundred years, have carried on agriculture from

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1. Cf. H. Baldus, Indianerstudien im nordöstlichen Chaco /Indian Studies in the Northeast Chaco/, Leipzig, 1931 (Publ. C. L. Hirschfeld), pp. 69f., 73.

MARRIAGE AND TERENA TRIBAL SOLIDARITY: 000

An Essay in Structural Analysis

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Sumario

El autor de este artículo se limita a estudiar la sociedad de los Terena, indígenas que viven en algo más de 10 aldeas del sur del Mato Grosso, en Brasil. El número de ellos es en la actualidad de unos 5000. El grupo, de la rama Arawak, habitó antiguamente el Chaco Paraguayo. Es así que en este trabajo, como se ha dicho, se estudia la sociedad Terena desde que estuvo en el Chaco, todas sus supervivencias, y los cambios resultantes de su presente localización en una zona fronteriza que podríamos llamar "frontera de civilizaciones". Asimismo, se trata de descubrir las matrices o elementos formales inherentes de su sistema social. Para cumplir este propósito, el autor trata de construir lo que podría llamarse un modelo abstracto de la estructura social de los Terena basado en datos empíricos, recogidos directamente en el campo, o extraídos de la bibliografía.

Introduction

The Terena Indians live in ten or more villages in southern Mato [3]
Grosso, between 20° and 22° south latitude and 54° and 58° west 101
Longitude.[1] They number about 5000 individuals. Originally inha- [161]
biting the Paraguaian Chaco, these Arawak people have maintained [648]
continuous contact with Brazilian civilization for more than a century
and a half. Even though they might be described today as being 177
integrated into the socio-economic structure of the regio,[2] it is not
accurate to speak of them as being assimilated into neo-Brazilian
society.[3]

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[1] This paper is a result of field work done under the auspices of the *Indian* [114]
Protective Service and the *Division of Anthropology* of the *National Museum* of [122]
Brazil. The proposed plan of the field work was published in the *Revista de
Antropologia*, São Paulo, Vol. 5, Nº 2, 1957. This article was written originally
in Portuguese and was translated into English by Dale W. Kietzman, of "Summers
Institute of Linguistics", and reviewed by the author.

[2] We are using the term *integrated* in the sense proposed by Darcy Ribeiro [128]
(1957 : 13) when he uses this classification for those "groups which, having
experienced all of the pressures referred to (epidemics, massacres, social disorganization—RCO) and having succeeded in surviving, are found in the 20th century as a distinct entity in the midst of the national population, into whose economic life they have been incorporated as a labor reserve or as producers of certain specialized articles for local commerce."

[3] In a study recently published by the National Museum (*The Process of* [114]

121 In this article we will limit ourselves to a study of Terena society, as it was the Chaco and as it has survived the change resulting from its present location in a frontier zone of civilization; we will attempt to discover the matrices, or inherent formal elements of its social system.[4] To accomplish this purpose we will atempt to construct what might be called an abstract model[5] of Terena social structure based on empirical data, whether recorded directly in the field or gleaned from the bibliography. In this regard it would not be amiss to note the words of Levi-Strauss: "It should also be kept in mind that what makes social structure studies valuable is that structures are models, the formal properties of which can be compared independently of their elements" (1954 : 528).

An apparent methodological contradiction emerges in the formulation of our aims, when the problem of the construction of a model (which implies an atemporal approach) is grouped with the discussion of changes occurring in it (in which the notion of time is implicit). This problem is handled through the use that we will make of the concepts of social structure and of social organization. If the concept of *structure* refers to highly stable uniformities (J. Marion Levi, Jr., 1952: 57-58), then in the concept of *social structure* "the qualities recognized are primarily those of persistence, continuity, form, and pervasiveness

[114] [177] *Assimilation of the Terenã*), we show that the village population of the tribe, which totals about four fifths of all Terena, continues to resist those mechanisms which make toward assimilation and which are increasingly pressing upon them. The rest of the population. which is detribalized and to a certain extent urbanized, since it is now located in the towns of the area, shows a strong tendency toward assimilation, if we take into consideration the actions of the first and second generations of families who have left their original communities. (cf. Mss., Chapters VII and VIII; also our article, 1958a : 16-18).

[4] Our conception of *social system* approximates, in general terms, that of Talcott Parsons, who defines it as consisting "... in a plurality of individual actors interacting with each other in a situation which has at least a physical or environmental aspect, ... whose relation to ... each other is defined and mediated in terms of a system of culturally structured and shared symbols" (1952: 5-6), and further defined by J. Marion Levy, Jr., as "any patterned collection of elements" (1952 : 20). Levy, in relation the term "society" (and we would add "tribe") to the concept of social system, makes plain that it is "one particular type of social system, but it is only one of an infinite (or at least a very large) number of conceivable types." (ibidem).

[5] We use *model* in a less specific sense than did Levi-Strauss (1954 : 528), since we do not identify "model" with "structure", which to us are related but distinct concepts. Model, in the sense in which we will use it, is a "generalized description of the system of phenomena concerned— a description that states the component parts of the system and at least some of their relationship" (J. Marion Levi, Jr., 1952 : 29-30). Comparing this concept with that of structure which will be formulated later in this study, we can say that our objetive is to construct a *model of Terena social structure.*

121 of social change. The present study is particularly compatible with this approach, emphasizing as it does the function of the Terena matrimonial complex in strengthening tribal solidarity and its role in the overall fabric of tribal and intertribal relationships. The approach particularly commends itself for its more adequate handling of "conformity" and "deviance" with respect to social structure.

114 [124] Whether recorded by us or gleaned from others, the Terena material on which the present structural analysis is based was all collected by evoking "tribal memory" through the use of older informants, since Terena, i. e., tribal, social structure has long since ceased to exist. On the other hand, for all practical purposes there are no ethnological data recorded before the 19th century. Even Sanches Labrador's 18th century classic, although dealing with the Guaná or Txané Indians, fails to mention specifically thetir Terena sub-group. Castelnau, Taunay and J. Bach, writing a century later, are the first major sources. Still, even though they represent the best ethnographic sources of the past century, their data on the then current Terena social structure are insignificant. Distinctive contributions in this area begin with the [797] missionary Alexander Rattray Hay, who lived with the Terena in the village of Bananal from 1917 to 1920. By this time the group was already largely acculturated.[7] The only other studies based on field work are those of Kalervo Oberg and Fernando Altenfelder da Silva, which derive from a stay in 1946 in Bananal, and the more specialized studies of Herbert Baldus with reference to certain Terena culture complexes—such as on the mythology and the succession to the chieftainship. They were of great use in preparing the present analysis.

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1. Social Stratification and Ethnic Stratification

[114 727] Max Schmidt, studying the process of expansion of Arawak speaking groups, indicates as an invariable element in their communities the presence of prisioners of war, or simply "captives". He leaves us with this question: "It would be interesting to know by what means Arawak society (which he treats as a single unit—RCO) was able to obtain for itself, starting as an agriculturally based people, the position of lords over these other population groups, who became the means of obtaining needed production. To create under then-existing conditions

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[121] under which a phenomenon normally exists, it to study its "deviate", or anomic, forms. He notes further that these pathologic forms are the ones that determine the breakdown of social solidarity.

[177] [7] The concept of acculturation allows a two-way application: (a) as to *process*, by which it assumes an explanatory character; and (b) as to *state* or "degrees of acculturation", by which it can be used for more descriptive purposes, as in the present case (cf. Beals, 1954 : 627).

maintaining its social superiority, namely the Naati. One of the 565
incidents most frequently mentioned by the Terena occurred in 1910, 582
and illustrates the vitality of the threefold, assymmetrical structure. A Waheré-Txané family asked the hand of a Naati girl in marriage to one of their own young men, since the two were very much in love. The grandmother of the girl (mother of her mother) refused to give her consent on the grounds that the suitor was not a Naati. She finally gave in at the insistence of her own family: her son-in-law (father of the girl) had his wife intercede with her mother (the girl's grandmother) pleading that having to feed three daughters was too much for him. Some conclusions can be drawn from this incident: 1) the impor- [562]
tance of the women in a Terena family, being as it were the guardian of tribal tradition (a number of examples support this observation); 2) a
situation typical of the transitional state of the strata; 3) the important [888]
place of the old people in the Terena social system, almost suggesting the possibility of a gerontocracy (the retention of power by old people in the modern "Village Councils" is pertinent to this hypothesis).[10] There are Naati families in Cachoerinha that continue to maintain the endogamy of the stratum marrying by preference solely from among the stratum and with difficulty tolerate a marriage of one their stratum with a Waheré-Txané.

This brings us to the conclusion that, while the dual, symmetrical structure has disappeared as a regulatory element in marriage, remembered now only as a "ceremonial principle", the threefold, assymetrical structure, while remembered by relatively few, continues to have a certain effect precarious at best, in the regulation of marriage of the Naati as a social in-group.

4. Warrior Heroes—The Xuna-Xati

The dynamic of the threefold structure depended upon the Xuna- 565
Xati. According to the interpretation of Oberg (1948 : 284, 1949 : 555
28-29), the Xuna-Xati represented a social "class" midway between the Naati and the Waheré. This interpretation appears to us to be unfounded, since both the Naati and the Waheré, as well as the Kauti, could become Xuna-Xati by having *killed an enemy in battle*. Xuna-Xati represented, then the *killer*, the warrior who distinguished himself on the battlefield by killing an adversary. The Terena recount that, after having killed an enemy, the warrior put his foot on the chest of

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[10] The "Village Council" an institution created by the Indian Protective [623
Service, was at first composed entirely of Naati individuals, taking advantage 177]
of the prestige of the elders in order to have a greater voice in th communities. Later certain prominent Waheré-Txané in each local group were accepted.

around the body of the sister-in-law and then the old man found it 835 messed up. At that, Viily ordered a tarimba (a plat form above the 773 grave) made so he could wait for the armadillo." The story continues, telling how Viily watched the body of his sister-in-law, talked with her spirit (koipihapati), consulted an old Koixomuneti (witchdoctor) to get magical powers and, finally, lost those powers by having sexual relations with a woman (the myth does not indicate the relatioshinp of this woman to the old man). Leaving aside the analysis of the myth, which is not our purpose here, it is enough to point out the [607] place of the sister-in-law in the Terena moral world, as an objetc of sexual and matrimonial interest.

Concerning this last aspect it is interesting to note the explanations 587 offerred by the Terena when asked why he had married his dead wife's sister. He said that after the death of his wife, his father-in-law had sought him out and asked him to marry his other daughter, on the grounds that he liked his son-in-law very much, was already acquainted with him, and his daughter needed a "good man". It appears that here, as in other cases observed, there was the indirect influence of the mother-in-law, who acted through her husband (the father-in-law), [606] and in other instances through an older son.

On the other hand Terena social structure does not permit *fraternal* 595 *polyandry*. The permitted *levirate*, i. e., the marriage of a widow with [587] the brother of her former husband, still exists, with two cases found in Cachoerinha alone. *Polygynous union* of one man with several unrelated women seems to have been permitted within the tradicional social organization. Twenty years ago it was still tolerated, as in the case of a man with a great deal of prestige, or who was a Naati (as was [554] true of the next-to-the-last "Captain", and last real Naati chief of Cachoeirinha). Today it is proscribed. In this respect, "Captain" Timothy, the non-hereditary successor of this last Naati chief, comments that the cause of the "Captain" abdicating his position was his fondness of drink and the fact that he had many wives...[13] The common practice, nevertheless, had been monogamy, accompanied by matri-local, [591] and today bilocal or neo-local, residence.

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[13] Under normal circumstances, i. e., in accord with Terena social structure, "Captain" Timothy could not be a "Chief of the People", since he was not a [622] Na-ti, but a Waheré-Txané. The title of "Captain", while it was designed to [777] substitute that of "Chief of the People", has not actually done so, as evidenced by the much smaller amount of prestige that it enjoys, which in turn is a result of the "artificial" mechanisms by the Indian Protective Service, without taking into account the culturally sanctioned mechanisms for selection.

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162 In the municipio of Miranda there exist several tribes of
103 Indians, the largest of them being that of the Terena Indians,
who occupy sundry aldeas, which are: Agachy, Cachoeira,
Cachoeirinha, Bocaina, Ipeque, Morinha, and Santa Ana.

433 The Terena are agriculturalists and are especially engaged
28 in the making of manioc flour; in general they are very in-
323 dustrious, they weave cotton, making nets and other fabrics;
439 from the palm they braid hats, large baskets, sifters, and mats;
241 from the pita /agave/ and other fibrous plants, the cordage for
824 weaving bags, in which they transport their products to market;
from clay they make platters, dishes, ollas, and many other
vessels for domestic use. They exchange their products for
beverages and fancy articles. To take their products to market
they go in large groups, directed by the cacique.

142 With regard to their stature there are tall, average, and
short ones: There are very few tall ones, but they are all
165 strong and muscular. The men are very ugly for the most part,
the women passable, and they attain a very advanced age.
162 The proportion of the two sexes is one-third for the male and
two-thirds for the female.

291 Most of them go about completely naked and the most
177 civilized cover themselves with clothing given them by
strangers.

847 Birth. They customarily kill the first child, if it is a
648 male, /89/ so that the Christians may not take it as a slave;
562 women are very much valued among them. They accompany
844 the birth of a baby with great fiestas, which always end in
527 drunkenness.

To give birth the woman goes to the woods, where she
makes an excavation about 45 centimeters long by 35 centi-
847 meters wide, which is lined with palm leaves. In this excava-
846 tion they give birth, and if the baby is a male they kill it at
262 once, using the excavation itself as a grave, after which they
go to the river to bathe and then submit to a rigorous diet,
eating only the heart of the palm called palmita.